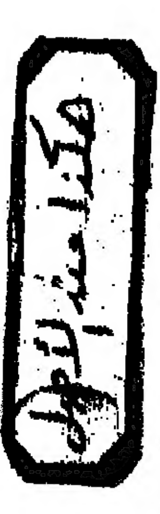
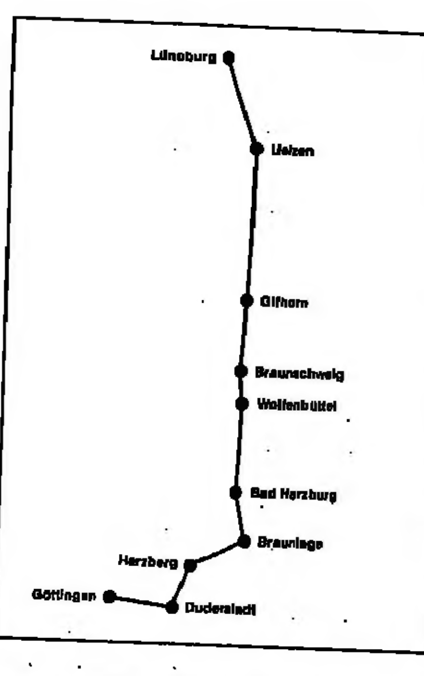
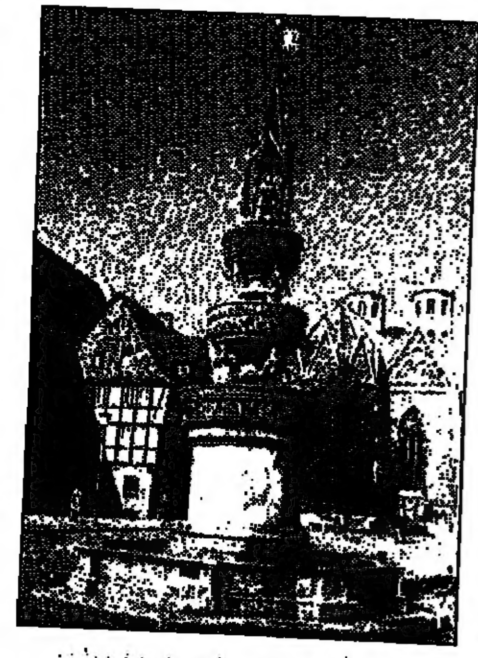
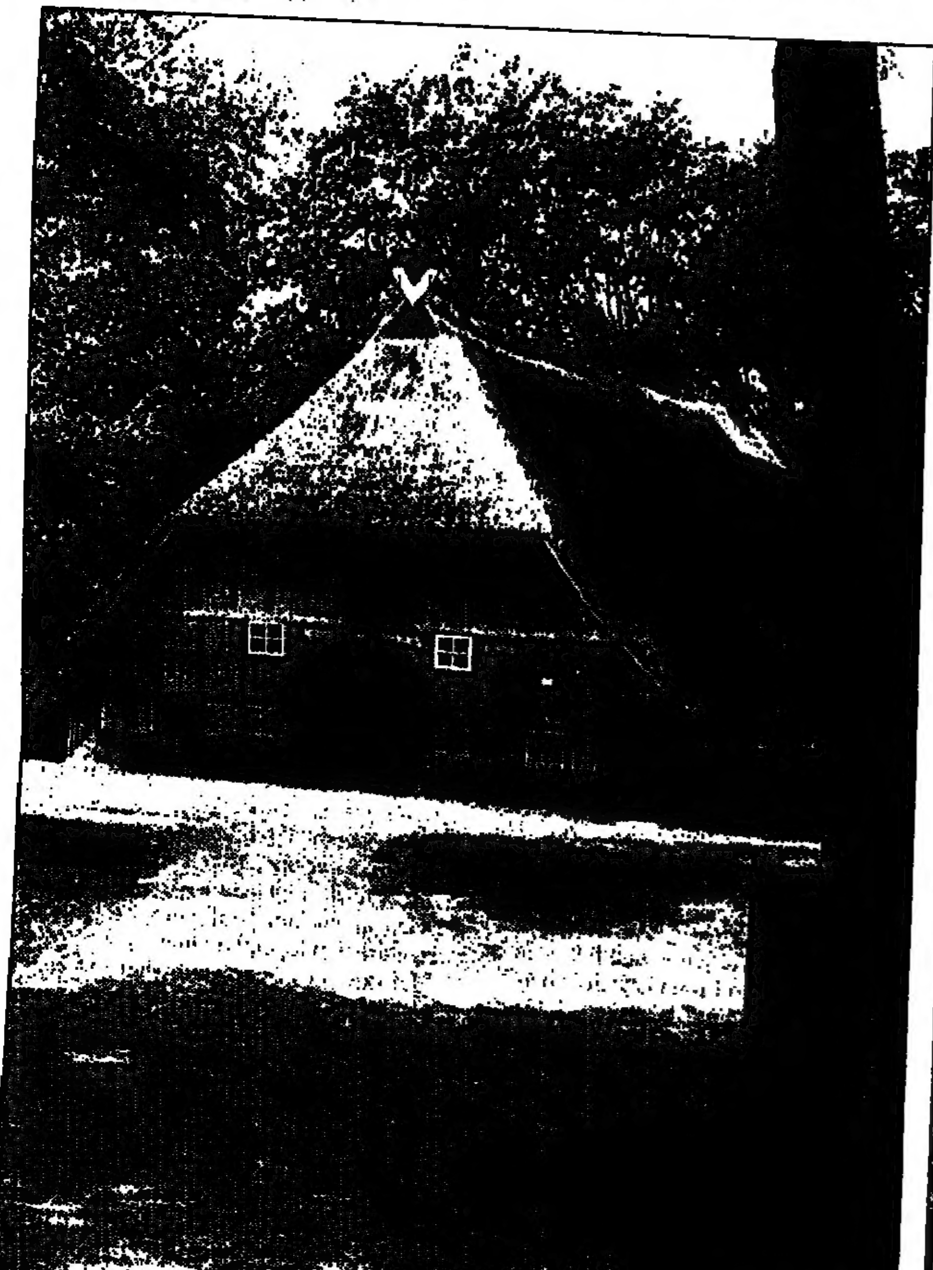












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Missiles begin to arrive but talks carry on

Missile deployment has already begun in Britain. It is about to begin in Germany. All that is needed is for the Bundestag to give the go-ahead, as it surely will.

The Americans were prepared for an earlier deadline and will be quick to deliver the goods. The first delivery, of the Pershing 2s, will probably be operational before Christmas.

This is of particular importance because the Russians, in the person of Soviet ambassador Semyonov in Bonn, have indicated readiness to carry on negotiating until the de facto stationing of the new US missiles.

If Moscow had made good its original threat of abandoning the Geneva talks as soon as the West started stationing, the chief Soviet delegate, Mr Kvitsinsky, would have called it a day on 15 November.

His meeting that day with Mr Nitze and the US delegation was extremely short, but the two sides did agree to meet again two days later.

That alone doesn't mean much. The superpowers aren't negotiating in Geneva at present to achieve results but merely to find a pretext for blaming each other.

IN THIS ISSUE

For the countries where missiles are to be stationed, initially Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy, it is important to be able to note that stationing is not an irrevocable fact as long as the two sides are still talking.

Mrs Thatcher, Herr Kohl and Signor Craxi all say that missiles installed can be withdrawn if satisfactory terms are negotiated at the Geneva missile talks.

Such assurances are partly intended for domestic consumption, but they are also aimed at providing the Soviet Union with an incentive to carry on talking in Geneva.

Comments by Soviet politicians and diplomats are to some extent contradictory, but they do indicate that bids of this kind are not meaningless.

Views evidently differ in Moscow, and not only on the aim but also the procedure at Geneva, and especially on whether stationing should mark the beginning of another ice age in East-West relations.

The signs are, as was clear during Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Lambsdorff's visit to Moscow, that the old guard of Soviet politicians are not in favour of an ice age, mainly for economic reasons.

Yet the Soviet military are not prepared to make substantial concessions in Geneva, while the man who could end the uncertainty and indecision, Mr Andropov, is so ill that there is speculation over who is to succeed him.

As long as this continues there is unlikely to be any great movement on the Soviet Union's part.

That was partly why Moscow promptly rejected the latest proposal by President Reagan, which came too late to influence more than the Bundestag debate. It provided Chancellor Kohl with an opportunity of defending the Americans for showing flexibility and of emphasising his own role in bringing about a reasonable compromise proposal.

For the same reason the Opposition SPD were bound to reject the latest US offer. It might otherwise have upset the rejection of missile modernisation on which the Social Democrats had agreed before their special party conference.

The Soviet Union could hardly be expected to make any last-minute changes to this battle order by agreeing to any American offer other than one of unconditional surrender.

Soviet tactics in Geneva show Russia to have stalled at the talks to drive the Nato countries into fraternal strife.

Moscow has hopes of reaping a rich-

Continued on page 2



Deployment to go ahead

Chancellor Helmut Kohl begins the missile debate in the Bundestag with a policy speech. The Bundestag voted to go ahead with deployment in Germany.
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Chilly spell but no ice age predicted between East, West

Stationing of 572 new medium-range US missiles in Europe will go ahead at the end of this month as resolved by Nato — that is, if last-minute agreement is not reached at Geneva.

Bonn does not expect any such miracle to happen. It feels there are clear signs that Moscow has long come to terms with Western missile deployment and included it as a firm feature in plans for the future.

Planning staff in the West are already thinking beyond the start of deployment and in terms of the stationing plan drawn up by Nato secretary-general Joseph Luns, which extends over a period of several years.

They are also preparing for the eventuality of reducing the level of missile deployment in keeping with how for Moscow is prepared to cut back its prior arms build-up.

Chancellor Kohl said during his visit to Japan that the beginning of missile deployment would not lead to an ice age in East-West relations.

Government officials in Bonn add that night frost must of course be expected. It was hard to imagine the Geneva talks simply continuing once Nato had acted on the two sides' failure to reach agreement.

The Kremlin has invested too much prestige in the issue for this to happen, it is argued.

Planners in Washington and Bonn expect the Soviet Union to react with harsh gestures to the beginning of missile modernisation. Talks between the superpowers might well be interrupted.

But in its own interest Moscow would probably return to the conference table after a chilly spell.

That would mark the beginning of a new stage of talks about more than mere missile modernisation in Europe. It would be a matter of balanced reduction of medium-range missiles in both Europe and, in all probability, the Far East.

A gloomier view would have it that the Soviet leaders are waiting to see who makes the running in the US presidential elections next autumn.

While hoping the situation might then be more favourable from the Soviet

Continued on page 3

Gulf between yes and no

The SPD has voted by 383 to 14 with 3 abstentions to oppose missile deployment. At a special national party congress in Cologne, former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt (above left) led the unsuccessful bid to continue the pro-missile policy. Another former Chancellor, Willy Brandt (at right) was was at the spearhead of the anti-missile faction. (See page 3).
(Photo: Barbara Klemm)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Nature of Lebanon at the heart of the problem

What is this Lebanon? An American military base... a Soviet bastion... an Arab state... an independent country?" asked Druze leader Walid Jumblatt at the Lebanese reconciliation conference in Geneva.

Lebanon is also Israeli and Syrian occupied territory and a battlefield for the Palestinians who are fighting a civil war in Lebanon but have no country of their own.

Even the Lebanese politicians felt so unsafe on top of the powderkeg in their own country that they decided to hold their reconciliation conference in Switzerland.

Despite their accumulated grievances, delegates quickly reached agreement on a statement defining Lebanon's national identity. It described Lebanon as a free, sovereign and independent state.

The Christians, the dominant pro-Western front, were taken down a peg or two when the statement also satisfied Muslim demands by defining the country also as an active member of the Arab League.

But the formula is barely worth the paper it is written on.

Lebanon's unity began to crumble in 1970 at the latest when the Palestinian troops that had been chased out of Jordan settled in Lebanon's south and gradually established a state within the state.

Christian politicians often mention the Palestinian invasion as proof of their assertion that the militant disputes in their country are not a civil war but have been imported.

The political power ratio negotiated in 1943, which divided political posts and parliamentary mandates between the country's 17 religious groups, worked smoothly until the Paletinians came, the Christians say.

Why did the presence of the Palestinians suddenly encourage the Muslim population to exert heavier domestic pressure on the Christians?

And was there not a Christian-Muslim dispute in1958 (under the influence of Egypt's Nasserism) that went so far that the Americans had to intervene?

The domestic situation in Lebanon was no longer rosy when the Palestinians arrived in 1970.

The Muslims had long held that they were in the majority over the Christians and pressed for a change of the power ratio in their favour.

It is relatively easy to sketch which occupation force is stationed where, where the American, French, Italian and British peace force is located and where the front between the feuding Palestinians lies.

But it is less easy to untangle the rivalling Lebanese groupings: the Christians, Sunnites, Shiites, Druzes, family clans and other religious and ethnic groups, all with their own militias.

The general confusion was reflected in the Geneva conference.

The group of the National Salvation Front that opposes the Beirut government consisted not only of Muslims. There was also a prominent Christian among them who is engaged in a personal family feud with the clan of Christian President Amin Gemayel.

Maybe the West really stood by idly for too long as developments in Lebanon took their course.

This, in any event, is what the Israelis maintained until they finally felt that they had to intervene to restore order.

Christian Lebanese politicians also waited in vain for Western assistance during the severe civil war of 1975/76.

But would such assistance, with the possibility of a military intervention as in 1958, not have involved the Arabs and possibly the Soviets as well, causing more than just Lebanese complications?

Washington believed that it could disregard the Syrians. The agreement that came about therefore involved only Beirut and Jerusalem in the ill-advised hope that the Syrians would follow suit of their own accord.

But it is evident that Syria's President Hafez Assad has not dropped his plans for a Greater Syria that would include Lebanon.

Assad's support for the Palestinians rebelling against Yasser Arafat is also no more than a bid for another power factor: a PLO that would give priority to militant action against Israel over diplomacy.

The Syrian president can count on being backed by Moscow, which wants to match Washington in terms of Middle East presence.

But by the same token, the Soviets make a point of not going too far for fear of a direct confrontation with the Americans.

As long as they maintain this stance there still remains a back door to an East-West accommodation on Lebanon.

But the tug-of-war between the superpowers over missiles makes it difficult to envisage such a compromise.

There is even less hope that all occupation forces now in Lebanon will leave from one day to the next and that the Lebanese will be able to realise the unity they put on paper in Geneva.

The more likely outcome is a country divided into three parts: a Syrian-dominated, an Israeli-governed and a torso Lebanon centering around Beirut.

Reiner Dederichs

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 November 1983)

Talks carry on

Continued from page 1

political and propaganda harvest: that of weaking the Western alliance.

The Americans will find it hard to dispel widespread doubts on the accuracy of this version of events at Geneva. They have only made concessions under pressure from their European allies, especially Bonn, and then mostly too little too late.

Even if they are right in saying that the Russians aren't going to sign anything that might be construed as legitimising the presence of medium-range US missiles in Europe and won't be prepared to talk about limitation until the missiles are stationed, they might have made their point more skilfully.

The latest US proposal includes interesting features that might prompt Moscow to keep the door to negotiations open a chink. They include the offer of not using to the full the US quota of medium-range systems.

But for the time being Mr Reagan's offer has had the full firepower of the Soviet propaganda arsenal trained on it. So it will make no difference to where the blame has already been laid by all sides.

Dieter Schröder

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 November 1983)

Cyprus UDI a threat to Nato flank

The shock waves caused by the unilateral declaration of independence by the Turkish populated northern sector of Cyprus have been felt most acutely in Athens.

The proclamation of an independent state of northern Cyprus could easily split Nato's southern flank at a time when the Western defence alliance is only superficially united on the issue of new American medium range missiles in Europe.

The declaration of independence also coincides with American, French and Italian naval vessels being stationed off the Lebanese coast in the immediate vicinity of Cyprus.

Will it do any good to put the matter before the UN Security Council?

There is no force that could make the 25,000 Turkish troops now stationed in Cyprus return home. And the UN peacekeeping force that was sent to Cyprus earlier did not exactly convey the image of determination.

Diplomatic circles anxiously ask themselves what prompted the Turkish Cypriots' leader, Rauf Denktash, to choose this particular moment for a policy of accomplished facts.

Did he seize the opportunity of a brief post-election vacuum in Turkey while the military is still weakened and the civilian government not yet fully capable of acting?

This seems to be substantiated by the unconfirmed news that Ankara unsuccessfully tried to stop Denktash.

The Cyprus situation is unique in international law. The country has been independent since 1960. Since the abortive putsch by the Greek colonels against the president of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, the country — though split in two — was nominally still one state under President Spyros Kyprianou.

Now the northern part is to become a member of the non-aligned movement while the south remains in Nato's sphere of influence.

In view of the deep-rooted hatred between the two ethnic and religious groups, only incorrigible optimists can regard the political structure created by Denktash as viable.

The newly proclaimed state creates more instability and tension, especially after its recognition by Turkey.

The Cyprus affair is only one more link in a long chain of examples showing how local political disputes can become more explosive than the arsenals of the superpowers.

The developments in Cyprus are a blow to Nato. The defence alliance headed by America has demonstrated its inability to find a sweeping solution to this local dispute, or at least defuse it.

Europe's outpost in the Eastern Mediterranean, the stepping stone to the Middle East, has become shaky.

Wolfgang Saile

(Rheinische Post, 16 November 1983)

Free enterp[...] advocate w[...] in Turkey

Turkey's election, the fir[...] three-year military rule, e[...] the convincing victory of a[...] Turgut Ozal.

Ozal's Motherland Party wa[...] only three parties the generals [...] to contest the election. It was [...] party they least favoured.

The Motherland party will [...] absolute majority in Parliament [...] vourite of the military, Admiral [...] Sunalp, won only 23 per cen[...] popular vote.

The generals thought that th[...] left nothing to chance in restoring [...] mocracy that they would con[...] control. They planned the election [...] to the smallest detail, very much [...] military campaign.

But the voters, in an election [...] evidently above board and dem[...] thwarted the well-laid plans. The[...] demonstrated the often doubted de[...] ratic maturity of this nation of [...] lion.

It would not be wrong to describ[...] polling as a protest vote.

The other surprise was the good [...] formance of the left-of-centre pa[...] former Under Secretary Necdet [...] which took second place with [...] cent of the vote.

Calp managed to rally the fol[...] of ex-Prime Minister Ecevit after th[...] nerals had barred him from form[...] new Social Democratic Party.

There were rumours that the ge[...] would not accept the results of th[...] ling and would reverse the mo[...] wards democracy.

But this would have been out of [...] racter for the military regime, wh[...] committed to the West as a whole [...] Nato, the European Council and [...] EEC none of which it wan[...] annoy.

There is also a misunderstan[...] about the nature and intentions of [...] neral Evren, elected as president fo[...] ven years.

His popularity has been some[...] tarnished by the outcome of the elec[...] but it has not been seriously damag[...]

His aims were to preserve na[...] unity and eliminate terrorism. Both h[...] largely been achieved.

Attention is now focussed on Tu[...] Ozal, 56, who proved himself during [...] campaign as a thoroughbred politi[...] and a man of untiring stamina.

Of the three party leaders the mil[...] ultimately allowed to compete in [...] election, the people regarded him as [...] least likely to be a puppet of the ge[...] rals.

They also felt that he was the m[...]

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The German Tribune

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

SPD anti-missile vote is a reversion to type

[...]he Social Democrats have voted [...]overwhelmingly to oppose missile [...]loyment. Only 14 of the 400 dele[...]es, including former Chancellor [...]mut Schmidt, voted against the an[...]-missile motion at a special party con[...]ess in Cologne. There were three abs[...]tions.

The vote was not unexpected. It [...]ans that the SPD has abandoned the [...]icy which it adopted when Schmidt [...]s Chancellor.

The congress did not even bother to [...]cuss the matter seriously before rea[...]ing a decision. The die was cast when [...] Bonn coalition of Social and Free Democrats broke up in September 1982.

The SPD no longer really supported Chancellor Schmidt on missiles at its Berlin, Munich and Dortmund conferences held while the party was in power. Only the desire to hold on to power drove the party from one compromise to the next.

The SPD's heart has always beaten to the left of Helmut Schmidt's. In security policy it was never a convinced and convincing supporter of the Atlantic approach.

The Social Democrats veered toward neutrality in the 1950s, were never keen on Nato and have always held mixed views on the United States.

These are politico-psychological constants as far as the SPD is concerned. They were merely papered over by Social Democratic participation, first as a junior, then as senior partner in the Bonn government.

In spite of protestations to the contary, the November 1983 Cologne SPD conference merely marks a reversion to old Social Democratic views.

The SPD-FDP coalition that held power in Bonn for 13 years broke up in autumn 1982 as a result of economic, financial and welfare policy disputes.

Even if it hadn't, Helmut Schmidt would have been forced out of office by now at the latest by the inner compulsion that has forced the SPD to part company with the security policy it used to endorse.

Coalition considerations forced the SPD to make increasingly seriously compromises while in power. In Cologne the party was visibly relieved at no longer having to compromise.

For the first time in years the Social Democrats enjoyed a sense of inner unity that was to be reaffirmed in the Bundestag missiles debate.

This sense of unity and cohesion, sadly missed for so long, weakened the determination and, arguably, the ability of the SPD to be logical in its security policy.

Helmut Schmidt outlined in a speech well worth reading for its clarity and historical logic why the dual-track Nato decision and its underlying political philosophy, the Harmel doctrine, were as right and necessary now as four years ago.

But delegates to the Cologne conference no longer paid him out patiently, but only applauded when Herr Schmidt levelled criticism at the Americans.

"That was applause that told a tale," said a former close adviser of Helmut Schmidt's resignedly.

The Schmidt era came to an end once and for all in Cologne. He is upset that despite high qualifications and an international reputation he will now no longer make an unmistakable mark in the annals of history.

In the wake of the Cologne SPD conference the direction Germany's Social Democrats has assumed greater importance than ever.

The motion tabled by the national executive and approved by the conference may have committed the party to Nato and the Bundeswehr.

But there can be no avoiding the fact that in Cologne the SPD was less concerned with these aspects than with a united and determined "no" to Nato missile modernisation.

Missile modernisation is a response to the Soviet arms build-up, but this point was clearly made only by Helmut Schmidt, Hans Apel and Georg Leber (all former SPD Defence Ministers in Bonn).

All Soviet proposals made of late and at the last minute may have offered to reduce Soviet missile superiority in Central Europe. But none have offered to eliminate it.

So what are the SPD's security policy objectives? They are, as SPD leader Willy Brandt put it, a security concept in which Europe has a more independent part to play.

It is a concept entailed detachment from from both superpowers and including a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe as a long-term target.

That is a illusion, and not a fresh one either, but it is an illusion that could mobilise the young and include or absorb the so-called peace and protest movement.

Herr Brandt enjoyed the triumph of having outlived politically both his opponents in the three-man SPD leadership of yesteryear, comprising himself, Helmut Schmidt and Herbert Wehner.

He sees this security policy as his opportunity of forging a majority to the political left of the Christian Democrats.

Willy Brandt mobilised young people in the wake of campus unrest in the late 1960s with the slogan of "daring to practise more democracy."

His present bid is sufficiently emotion-laden not to be dismissed from the outset as a no-hoper, but misgivings still apply.

Doubts arise as to whether his new vision and perspective will be to the Federal Republic's benefit or do its security a disservice.

Hans Jörg Sottorf

(Handelsblatt, 21 November 1983)

No ice age

Continued from page 1

[...]point, Moscow would continue to [...]ge ahead with its own arms build-up.

The main reason why Bonn is not ex[...]cting an ice age is that the Soviet [...]ion continues to rely on economic [...] from the West.

If talks break down in Geneva, Bonn [...]eign Office officials hope, they will [...] resumed at the Stockholm conference [...] confidence-building and disarma[...]ent in Europe in January.

The Stockholm conference is part of [...]e CSCE, or Helsinki, process, so the [...]ited States will be represented. It [...]uld emerge as a second track of the [...]st-West dialogue (second, that is, to [...]e talks between the superpowers).

No interruption in bilateral talks bet[...]een Bonn and Moscow is expected, [...]pecially after the talks between Fo[...]gn Ministers Genscher and Gromyko [...] Vienna.

Draft treaties on legal assistance, [...]entific and technological and cultural [...]change that had been on ice for years [...]re resurrected and could be a guide to [...]e extent to which a chill has not set in.

Planning staff from both Foreign Mi[...]istries are to meet in Moscow at the [...]d of the month to start talking about [...]ng-term political tasks in Europe.

The two governments' disarmament [...]elegates are are also to confer with [...]ch other. This is seen as a further pos[...]bility of flanking measures to run [...]ongside the mainstream of East-West [...]alogue.

Bonn is likewise looking into the futu[...] of intra-German ties, for which there [...]e signs that here too an ice age does [...]t lie ahead.

The GDR leader, Herr Honecker, may [...]ave reiterated the demands he made in [...]s Gera speech, but Bonn feels he was [...]erely going through the motions.

He called for recognition by Bonn of [...]DR citizenship, for upgrading of their [...]spective diplomatic missions in Bonn [...]d East Berlin and for the abolition of [...]e Bonn government agency in Salzgit[...]ter that monitors political offences.

But Herr Honecker merely cited these [...]sues as examples of topics that could [...]e discussed, which leads Bonn to belie[...]e that he is not unduly interested in [...]em specifically.

This point having been made, Bonn is [...]etermined not to yield ground on any [...] these points.

Chancellor Kohl plans to continue his [...]eriodic telephone talks with the GDR [...]ader. Their exchange of letters is felt to [...]e mainly propaganda-orientated.

If the decision were up to Herr Kohl [...]e would be happy to see Herr Honec[...]ker's postponed visit to the Federal Re[...]public raised again in the new year.

But the night frost that lies ahead is [...]ot expected at the Chancellor's Office [...] permit this possibility.

Heinzgünter Klein

(Der Tagesspiegel, 11 November 1983)

Continued from page 2

capable of mastering the nation's economic woes.

Ozal, an engineer by profession, had made a name for himself as "architect of the Turkish economy" under Demirel and, later, the military regime. He is credited with having sharply reduced the inflation rate and boosted exports.

In late 1978, he had to step down due to a conflict with politically powerful financial circles.

Unlikely Turkey's incompetent state bureaucracy, Ozal is an unflagging advocate of free enterprise. His tight *money policy, tax increases* and wage freezes will impose considerable burdens.

But this did not detract from his broad popularity even in remote villages where he is seen above all as a devout Muslim who had made his pilgrimage to Mecca.

His expansion of activities to encompass the Arab world will make him a difficult yet dependable partner for the West. He will thus pursue the same line as the military who, for the moment, still distrust him.

Wolfgang Höpker

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 11 November 1983)

Free Democrats tread very softly

Karlsruhe's FDP conference was low-key compared to previous conferences. Contrasting views were discussed quietly and with discipline and restraint.

Debates used to be held passionately, openly and from widely differing viewpoints. But both supporters and opponents of the FDP's changing of sides in Bonn last year keenly recall the damage done then.

The Free Democrats' decision to switch from the Social to the Christian Democrats as Bonn coalition partners threatened to tear apart this small party.

So the substantial majority support given to FDP leader and Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's paper on security policy need not necessarily be a true reflection of FDP opinion.

The same goes for the conference resolution that any further delay in stationing Pershing 2 missiles in Europe would be irresponsible.

But the remaining Liberals felt it was more important to demonstrate party unity regardless of differences of viewpoint then to argue it out and create an impression of being torn apart by dissension yet again.

There was livelier debate on such controversial topics as the law on demonstrations, on the ban on demonstrators wearing disguises of any kind, on political asylum and aliens.

It came as a relief and a signal to the majority of delegates that they could voice their true views again, since even in its darkest years the FDP has always nailed its colours to the mast most strikingly on home and legal affairs.

This is a tradition the Free Democrats are keen to uphold even though the impression might arise that clashes will inevitably lie ahead within the new coalition, and especially with the Bavarian CSU.

The FDP leaders gingerly made this point in Karlsruhe, but delegates were intent on demonstrating both cohesion and an image of their own.

On both counts it may be argued to have backed Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff and his free market economic theories to the hilt.

He unwittingly emerged as a spokesman to iron out minor problems at the conference, ranking second only to the undisputed No. 1, Herr Genscher.

The breadth of support for Count Lambsdorff was not just a demonstration of solidarity with him personally, it is reasonable to assume.

It will also have been because delegates realised that criticism of the Economic Affairs Minister was levelled not just at him but also at the FDP as a whole.

There were strident attacks on the party's former partner in Bonn, the Social Democrats, and clear demarcation between the FDP and its current coalitionally, the CSU.

Herr Genscher's FDP sought hard to show that it had fallen back into step with itself. It remains to be seen whether this demonstration of unity will be enough to contain crisis within the party.

The country is ruled from Bonn, and the CSU, and with it Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann, is part of the ruling coalition.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 21 November 1983)

■ DEFENCE

Europe on the brink? Signs are neither side is in a position to go to war

The Atlantic alliance is in a serious crisis, and the "peace movement" is not to blame.

However some Germans, especially Bavarians, do blame it.

The peace movement is a many-coloured grouping partly motivated by romanticism and characterised by more than a fair share of German arrogance.

But it has merely brought to light what has been smouldering for years, even at the fountainheads of military planning.

Doubts follow each other in swift succession, underpinned by the views of experts who were among the architects of Nato doctrines 10 or 20 years ago, especially in America.

These doctrines, no matter how logically they may continue to be formulated by the experts in question, have forfeited much of their former credibility.

They are growing progressively less credible. Loss of acceptance is the term used by the experts for this process.

So it is hardly surprising that Nato itself has, unwittingly as it would seem, been called into question, although in Germany this may have something to do with a romantic and vaguely nationalist revival (and a most unwelcome development).

But the credibility gap of Nato doctrine has more to do with the development and spread of nuclear weapons and delivery systems, which have forfeited predictability.

Nuclear weapons, or certainly the use of them, are unquestionably against international law, absolutely immoral and ethically beyond the pale.

In Europe, where even the use of "small-scale" nuclear grenades could not be limited and would be sure within days to lead to mass death, if not the destruction of half the world, nuclear warfare has become an obsolete concept.

US Defence Secretary Weinberger made comments to the contrary soon after taking over at the Pentagon but what he had to say has since been corrected by no less a person than President Reagan.

A nuclear war, the President told the United Nations, could not be won and ought never to be waged.

So what remains of Nato's flexible response doctrine? It was drawn up, it will be recalled, to replace the massive retaliation doctrine, which has likewise lost credibility.

Flexible response envisages the use of nuclear weapons as soon as there is no other defence option in the course of an enemy attack.

As long as the West retained superiority in "small-scale" nuclear weapons suitable for use in the battlefield and its hinterland, this threat could at a pinch be taken as credible.

But the other side now has weapons that are just as dangerous, if not more so. So a nuclear option is now ruled out in Europe. It could not be limited, so it would make no sense.

Does that mean the West, and especially the Federal Republic of Germany, is now more liable to be attacked by the Soviet Union?

Must we, in common with so many fear-ridden people, transfer our funds to Canada, Florida or Australia?

Common-sense consideration makes

SüddeutscheZeitung

nonsense of any such idea. But it also makes it essential to give consideration to the unthinkable, namely war.

Nato will not be launching an attack on Eastern Europe. Any such idea is ruled out by the North Atlantic Treaty, as has constantly been reaffirmed, and would fail to command a political consensus.

If this argument fails to ring true, and some people work themselves up into a frenzy of fear and resentment, and you feel you cannot be entirely sure of what other members of Nato might do, then to at least consider the facts.

Nato armies are not in a position, either numerically or logistically, to launch a large-scale attack.

What, then, about the other side? Is a Soviet attack on Europe with a view to defeating it militarily and occupying and controlling it conceivable?

Communist ideology cannot, of course, abandon its objective of expansion, by force of arms if need be. That can be read in any book on the subject.

To this extent Afghanistan was not a fall from grace. It was strictly in keeping with Communist doctrine. But would Moscow take the same risk in Europe?

If it were to do so that would be the beginning of the Soviet dinosaur's end even if no major nuclear weapons were to be used.

It is a system that even after 65 years has failed to feed its population by itself and failed to achieve a modicum of prosperity.

It lags well behind the West in science, technology, electronics. It cannot rely on the loyalty of its captive nations.

It could not possibly withstand a blockade for long or keep the armies and peoples of America and Europe at arm's length for an unlimited period, let alone keep them under its thumb.

Even if the Kremlin were controlled again by such a monstrous and brutal ruler as Stalin an adventure of this kind would be most unlikely.

That has not always been so, of course. Nato was set up in response to Soviet expansionism.

In the early post-war period all Eastern Europe was subjected to the Soviet system. South Korea was to have been occupied. West Berlin was first blockaded, then threatened by one ultimatum after another.

Every attempt at change inside the Soviet empire was foiled by resort to despotism, including bloodshed if need be.

But is this still the case? Will Nato doctrine continue to be warranted? Containment is now, after all, an established fact.

If a Soviet leader today were to threaten to launch a nuclear attack on Britain, as Khrushchev did in 1956, he would be most unlikely to be taken seriously.

Even a limited war in which the Soviet Union merely occupied ... many, Holland and Denmark, ... thern Norway and the Bospo... from the outset jeopardise ... survival.

Helmut Schmidt has just ... if tension were to mount ... Republic could mobilise 1.3 m... in a matter of days.

Robert S. McNamara, the fo... Defence Secretary, has noted ... rican forces in Europe could ... ced from 300,000 to a million ... short period too.

That alone is surely a subst... terrent. But maybe it doesn't ... ficiently dependable. Maybe ... will always need a few nuclear ... at the ready, especially at sea.

With a certain amount of effo... ever, more and better results ... achieved in respect of conv... means of defence and mobilis... tions.

That in turn would make the ... defence and military service ... sible again. It would bring about ... ter degree of consensus.

If the deterrent were to prove ... in such circumstances millions of ... would not necessarily die as a res...

The result would merely be ... all the attendant misery but ... possibility of ending it before ... is sealed.

Nato used at times to commissi... views of doctrines, contradictio... alliance perspectives by acknowle... experts who were asked to subm... form proposals.

It is high time a fresh review ... ducted, and the Bonn governm... particular must endorse the idea ... is no shortage of competent spe... on both sides of the Atlantic.

In Germany Helmut Schmidt's ... immediately comes to mind.

Hans Hei...

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 Novem...

Spread of fear remains Moscow's aim

The writer of this article, Dr Gerhard Schröder, 73, was Foreign Minister from 1961 to 1966 under Chancellors Adenauer and Erhard. He had previously served as Interior Minister and went on, until 1969, to become Defence Minister under Chancellor Kiesinger.

The wave of public protest against Nato missile modernisation in Europe may well continue up to deployment.

The Soviet Union would like to maintain its present medium-range missile monopoly if the West will allow it to do so. If possible it would prefer to improve on it.

According to estimates by French government experts the Soviet SS-20 missiles and their nuclear warheads threaten 62 per cent of the world's population.

They are capable of reaching targets in 56 countries with a combined population of 2.7 billion.

The Bonn government's defence white paper says (and the claim has not been disproved) that the production and stationing of SS-20s, with three warheads each, continues unabated.

A total of 243 are already stationed in European Russia, which means that in one swoop the East could launch a missile attack on 700 targets in Western Europe.

It is clearly noted in the white paper that the Pershing 2s intended as a Western counterweight are not capable of reaching Moscow.

The planned reinforcement of Nato's nuclear potential is in strict accordance with the principle of flexible response and deterrence.

Peace via deterrence is thus the aim, and even though the West's response potential may be fragile, it has succeeded in preserving peace in the past and will continue to do so.

For the Soviet Union another principle applies. Moscow aims to intimidate the West, to bring political pressure to bear, to tear Nato apart and expel the United States from Europe.

Realistic as they are, the Soviet leaders aim not at war but at political domination by means of spreading fear, primarily in Europe of course.

Is Europe, especially the Nato countries, doing enough to clarify this state of affairs and to frame readily understandable arguments that get the idea across to the general public?

It must first be made clear without the slightest doubt that Nato is an alliance that has subscribed to the objective of disarmament.

We are confronted by an ideology that regards the clash between differing political systems as historically inevitable.

That isn't a recent discovery. It is a reality with which we have been living for many years.

We are members of Nato and not in a position where we might have to appeal simultaneously and in equal mea... both Moscow and Washington to ... peace.

It is not for us to appeal to bo... confer longer and longer in Genev... not to establish a missile moderni... *fait accompli*.

Nato must be able to expect i... ders not to start hesitating or vacill... Only a strong and determined West ... keep the peace.

We here in Germany must bea... mind that the United States has the ... viest burden to carry. It alone ... West has the nuclear weapons at is...

It needs the nerves that are called ... at the present stage of proceeding... and not Bonn, is negotiating with ... Soviet Union in Geneva on a deci... reached by Nato.

In the process America needs a... our political and moral support and ... couragement.

I should like to make a claim bo... out by history and an assertion ... spect of future developments.

The United States decided the ... come of the First World War. It decid... the outcome of the Second World W... am convinced the United States ... termined to prevent a Third World W...

Autumn will not be accompanied ... the tremendous difficulties and dan... that have often been presaged or thr... tened.

But the government and our politi... leaders must say in all clarity what ... issue, and not for a moment must th... hesitate if action is really needed.

Gerhard Schröder

(Die Welt, 5 November 198...

PERSPECTIVE

First the printing press then TV: Luther's star waxes into the electronic age

...inting was what enabled Luther in ...his early public years to become the ... German to make his mark on all ...many, claimed Roman Catholic ...ologian Joseph Lortz.

...hat, then might the effect of a man ... Luther be today in the era of the ..., of radio and TV, records, films, ...d and video recorders? Would it be ...powerful as, say, Pope John Paul II?

...ast year German publishers issued ... books about the Reformer than ...t Goethe, whose anniversary year it ... This year, the 500th anniversary of ...er's birth, they have been even more ...fic.

...ther has outperformed centenarians ...as Richard Wagner, Karl Marx and ...z Kafka.

...otestants of all denominations have ...oured him as a Protestant. Roman ...holics have hailed him in an oecu...ical spirit.

...he GDR is celebrating his anniversa... in both a national and a socialist ...ner. He seems to be receiving more ...ention even than Karl Marx, the ...ader of Communism.

...his universal enthusiasm about Lu...r cannot be attributed to his 500th ...iversary. His year of birth (if not his ...hday) has been disputed ever since ...bts were voiced by his close associ... Philipp Melanchthon.

...t can only be ascribed to Luther the ...n and the theologian. We, like Lu...r, live in an age of change. His was ... passing of the Middle Ages and the ...n of modernity; we too are on the ... of a millenium.

Applied electronics looks like being ... harbinger of revolutionary change. ...o alarming prospects it holds forth ...for the moment exceeded only by ... of the moral impossibilities of an ...s build-up that is shamelessly using ...tronics as its servant.

Just as Martin Luther has outdone all ...er great Germans in this, his anniver...y year, so he should prove capable of ...ing Orwell's Big Brother with his ... weapons in 1984, the Orwell year.

Much of what Orwell foresaw in 1948 ... already come true. Just as Luther in ... day was torn between fear of God ...d man's inadequacy, between confi...nce and despair to the point of a split ... (Erikson), and prayed for a merciful ...d, so may we perhaps have to fight ... a merciful mankind as the Orwellian ... personality of doublethink grows ...reasingly normal.

Luther's confidence in the love of ...d is a sentiment we find increasingly ...fficult to share the more badly we ...ed it.

So confidence in place of despair is ...obably the most important lesson we ...day can learn from the Reformer.

There is no uniform view of Luther. Those who celebrate his anniversary can ... classified by viewpoint, in groups if ...t as individuals.

There is the Protestant viewpoint, the Catholic viewpoint and the Marxist ...ewpoint.

The latter-day Protestant view of Lu...ther has a decidedly meagre look. Pro...testants have had to shed much of the ...amour the Reformer used to enjoy as a ...ero and a rebel.

The Marxist view of Luther is a fairly ...-sided one. Communism is in reality ...ore interested in the early capitalist Fugger and in the peasants' leader Thomas Müntzer.

In the GDR Luther does not count as more than a peripheral national figure about whom a certain amount of hue and cry is tolerated.

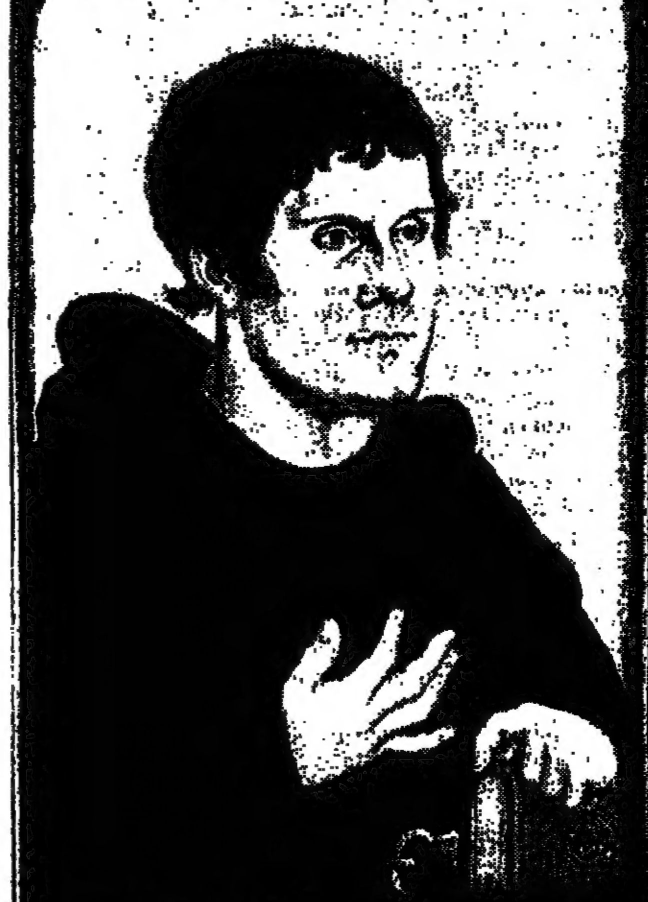
This is doubtless partly on account of the hard currency earned from visitors to the places where Luther lived and worked.

It will also be so as to feed a little opium to the largely Lutheran population of the GDR, but only a small dose that is unlikely to have after-effects of any kind.

The Catholic view of Luther has, in contrast, undergone an astonishing change. For Roman Catholics the Reformer has been upgraded from an accursed heretic to a father in belief.

Luther is discoverd to have had Catholic roots. Carefully laying them bare has been a main aim of Catholic ecclesiastical research in recent decades.

The new Catholic view of Luther is a far cry from the revolutionary condemned to eternal damnation he was made out to be by his confused contemporaries Johannes Cochlaeus, Johann Eck, Hieronymus Emser and Thomas Murner. They saw him as having been sired by Satan, accompanied throughout life by Beelzebub and eventually borne off by the Devil. It is hard to say nowadays who started the name-calling all those centuries ago, a torrent of abuse that grew increasingly trite as it was laid on thicker and thicker. Eventually it ground to a halt. But who threw the first stone? Luther or his opponents? All that can be said with any certainty is that the unspoilt vocabulary of modern German in the making, combined with the full chalice of feeling on both sides, bequeathed us the most blunt and plain-spoken language that has ever become literature in Germany.



Lucas Cranach's contemporary portrait of Martin Luther.
(Photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg)

Luther himself was a past master of coarseness.

In his speech at the Luther anniversary ceremony in Worms Cardinal Höffner of Cologne said that the views of the Reformer held by Protestants and Catholics could no longer be used to drive a wedge between them.

The same could be said of Luther's theological views, which had been controversial for centuries, especially his belief that man was both just and a sinner at the same time and could only attain salvation by the grace of God and not by his own good works.

Cardinal Höffner, who chairs the Conference of German Catholic Bishops, insisted nonetheless that Luther had looked on idly as the Church was split up, for which the Catholic church was admittedly partly to blame.

This is an accusation that will not hold water in this form. Rome showed no appreciation of the impending split and certainly steered a wide berth of self-critical action of any kind.

If the Pope had only held a council in the 1520s the Reformation would not have happened as it did; there would have been a reform of the Church instead.

This was the period in which Luther was at his intellectual peak and penned his major writings, of which publication of the 59 theses against indulgences in 1517 was but the precursor.

They outlined basic truths of Christianity and pilloried evils, distortions and errors in religious life, including the abuse of indulgences. The theses were welcomed by many contemporaries, including Luther's later opponents Eck, Cochlaeus and Erasmus of Rotterdam and his humanist associates.

The only people who paid no attention to Luther's accusations were the Archbishop of Mainz and his Curia, against whom they were levelled.

Nothing hurts a learned German more than being ignored in this way. Luther's justified objections were joined by the anger of a man spurned, and the split began to take shape.

The Church refused to see where it had gone wrong yet was guilty of serious abuses and constant decline in standards.

Luther was angry and determined to get the better of the argument. The way was wide open for the split.

As events took their course the Reformer, an Augustinian monk, became a writer and completely dominated the German book market.

At the Leipzig disputation in 1519 the Bavarian theologian Johann Eck, later lampooned by Melanchthon, drove Luther into a corner.

But within a single year Luther went on to publish the basic writings of the Reformation: To the Christian Nobility (summer 1520), On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church (October 1520) and On the Freedom of a Christian (November 1520).

Each successive pamphlet was more telling than its predecessor in the impact of its criticism.

The Roman Curia then issued a Papal bull threatening to excommunicate Luther. On 10 December 1520, applauded by nearly all Germans, he burnt the bull in Wittenberg, where he had been appointed to the chair of theology in 1512.

At the 1521 Diet of Worms he refused to retract and was declared an outlaw in the Holy Roman Empire. Anyone was thus entitled to kill him.

For his safety's sake he was abducted by men under orders from Frederick the Wise of Saxony, his protector, and kept in custody at Wartburg castle, near Eisenach.

There he was known as Junker Jörg and found time to complete his translation of the New Testament, which was printed in September 1522 and dubbed the September testament.

He did not complete the Old Testament until 1534, but the entire Bible was then available in German for the first time.

In 1525 Luther, a former monk, married Katharina von Bora, a former nun. It was the year that marked the end of his period of combative writing.

In the remaining 20 years of his life he contented himself with consolidating the church in electoral Saxony, with writing catechisms and hymns, with giving sermons at the Stadtkirche and holding lectures at the University of Wittenberg, which in those days was the leading university in the Holy Roman Empire.

He died on 18 February 1546 in Eisleben, his native town, and was deeply mourned by half Germany. His corpse was taken to Wittenberg in a triumphal procession. He was buried in the Schlosskirche after a state funeral.

The Catholic areas of the Holy Roman Empire referred to the dreadful end of the arch-heretic. A host of devils had fluttered round him and let no-one near him.

He had roared like an ox and finally passed away with a frightful scream. Ghosts constantly stalked the house in which he died, wrote Cochlaeus, his first biographer.

This garish Catholic view of Luther has undergone a complete change, and fortunately so.

But the Reformer was fearfully abused by the Prussian Reich, and still more by the Nazi Reich, being hailed as a national hero and enemy of the Jews.

Protestantism was as a result obliged to cut down to size its erstwhile view of Luther as a Bible-brandishing Reformer at Worms or Eisleben.

Luther was pruned so drastically as a national hero that he almost vanished, pulled up by the roots, as a reformer too, even from theological studies, as a number of old Protestant dons lamented.

This was a result of taking German thoroughness too far. It was a fate Luther did not deserve.

Were it not for the Roman Catholic competition having sought to claim Luther for itself, who knows whether a Luther ceremony of the intellectual standard shown at Worms would have been held in the Federal Republic?

Karl-Jürgen Miesen

(Rheinische Post, 5 November 1983)

■ BUSINESS

Big construction plant maker is out of cash

The world's third largest maker of construction machinery, IBH, has gone to court to seek protection from creditors through composition, a type of insolvency proceedings.



Horst-Dieter Esch . . . foiled ambition. (Photo: Archiv)

Horst-Dieter Esch, head of IBH Holding AG, did not think that he could overtake the biggest construction machinery maker in the world, Caterpillar. But he wanted to become number two.

But the ambitions of the most fascinating German businessman of the 1970s, were dashed when his principle lender, SMH-Bank, itself had to be bailed out by a consortium of banks.

That left Esch with no option but to apply to court for protecton from creditors through composition. The chances are that IBH, which has annual sales of DM2.5bn and a payroll of 10,000, will not recover.

Insiders such as banks and competitor companies have anticipated trouble for years and they are likely to be proved right.

It is still not clear whether SMH-Bank's collapse caused IBH to totter or whether it was the other way round. But the fact is that the relatively young equipment maker did not have the financial strength to come through a crisis.

It is also true that Esch never managed to win the confidence of the major banks. He was therefore forced into a riskier reliance on SMH, a bank founded in in 1968 through the merger of three private banks (See story on page 7).

Esch's personality is an essential clue to the problem. His business philosophy was basically sound, and remains so even in retrospect.

He realised from the beginning that a major construction machinery manufacturer could weather national economic ups and downs only by maintaining production facilities in all major industrial countries.

But even people whom he talked into backing him often regarded him as a gambler and loudmouth who, at an age (he is now 40) when others were still junior executives, believed that he could outperform experienced managers. That couldn't (perhaps shouldn't) work.

Esch's rise began in the USA where he studied business administration in Utah and Los Angeles.

He worked his way through university as a ticket checker in a drive-in movie.

On his flight back to Germany in 1967, the newly graduated Master of Business Administration happened to be sitting next to the chief executive of Duomat, a German construction machinery company.

The two had a long chat, and before the plane landed in Frankfurt, Esch had landed a job as a sales assistant.

He was quickly promoted to head the US branch office which Duomat maintained together with the British construction machinery dealer John Blackwood-Hodge.

Impressed by his sales successes, the British company a few months later made Esch their European head of sales.

Esch, bristling with imagination and ever ready to take a risk — he played for high stakes at backgammon — used his new employer to amass personal capital.

He speculated in Blackwood-Hodge shares and, staking everything on a hunch, made a rapid DM1m in 1972. That was the starting capital for his IBH.

His aim from the very beginning was to use his business concept to make IBH one of the world's largest construction machinery concerns with annual sales of DM4bn to DM5bn. What he wanted was Internationale Baumaschinen-Holding, an international construction machinery holding company.

His plans met with widespread scepticism, especially in view of the construction industry crisis caused by the sharp oil-price increase of the early 1970s.

Even the Registrar of Companies refused to register the new company under the ambitious name and cut it down to three letters: IBH.

Esch's opportunity came when most of Germany's medium-sized construction machinery makers found themselves in the red because of the crisis.

The management quality in many family businesses was next to zero. But 20 years of boom had papered this over, and it was not until the crisis struck that the shortcomings became obvious. Esch started collecting companies like apples.

Many owners were glad to get rid of their businesses and sold for next to nothing.

Esch grabbed every company whose range of products seemed promising, it didn't matter if it was losing money or had obsolete production facilities.

Eyebrows were raised as without much money of his own and without dependable backing, the son of a locksmith bought one ailing company after another.

By the end of 1978 he had four German firms under the IBH roof, including Duomat, his first employer.

The buying spree continued until the end of 1982. In France, he took over Deruppe, Maco Meudon and Pingon. In Britain it was Hymac and Winget & Blaw Knox and in Germany Hanomag and Wibau.

General Motors, then in financial trouble, sold him its construction machinery subsidiary, Terex, with production facilities in the USA, Brazil and Scotland.

It was of little use to Esch that he could eventually point to an illustrious circle of IBH shareholders.

The financially strongest were General Motors and the Saudi Arabian Dallah Est Co. (each with a 19.6 per cent stake in IBH), the British firms Powell

Continued on page 8 . . .

Family influence fades o[n] machinery manufacture[r]

Klaus Götte has replaced Manfred Lennings as chief of the Oberhausen plant and machinery firm Gutehoffnungshütte Aktienverein (GHH).

Götte, 51, a former Flick partner, was nominally only a simply supervisory board member of the GHH subsidiary, MAN.

But since the beginning of the year he had belonged to the inner leadership circle of GHH, Europe's leading heavy machinery company (annual sales close to DM19bn) with special duties as an ideas man.

The changing of the guard had been well prepared behind the scenes. Götte was voted into his new post without fuss and bother.

He is the first man at the top of GHH who is not the nominee of the founder family, Haniel.

The withdrawal of the founder family was evidenced by yet another personnel decision: to prevent a neck-and-neck vote in which the chairman of the supervisory boad would have had to bring his casting vote to bear on the resignation of Lennings (once nominated by him) family spokesman Klaus Haniel resigned from the board at the beginning of the meeting.

He was replaced by the former BASF chief executive Matthias Seefelder. For the first time in110 years, the chairman of the supervisory board is not a member of the Haniel clan.

This dual change at the top of GHH reflects the changing stockholder structure.

The once dominant founder family has in the past decades become increasingly insignificant, both financially and managerially.

The Haniels' stake has dwindled to 12 per cent. The dominant influence now rests with the Regina Group's 26 per cent. The Group's holdings were provi-



Manfred Lennings . . . odd issue to resign over. (Photo: J. H. Darchinger)

ded by the Allianz Insurance Co. (75 per cent) and Commerzbank (25 per cent).

The changeover from Lennings to Götte was thus not masterminded by GHH's supervisory board but by the owners of the Regina Group.

Georg Benz, formerly executive board member of the metalworkers union, IG Metall, and labour representative on the GHH supervisory board: "Our co-determination rights have been grossly violated. We're mere extras here."

Benz described Lennings as a "man of outstanding ability." This makes it the

Klaus Götte . . . a meteoric ca[reer]

more surprising that somebody ... his company had praised only a while ago should now have been ... pled.

This was not a case of dismi[ssing a] man who had manoeuvred his com[pany] into a hopeless crisis.

Lennings — who kept his subsi[diaries] on a long leash in keeping with G[HH] corporate tradition — was too ... fully recognising MAN's pro[blems] especially in the sectors of comm[ercial] vehicles and marine diesel engines.

This led to operating losses las[t busi]ness year of close to DM300m, ... naturally caused some unrest ... shareholders.

But nobody had any doubt ... Lennings' ability to overcome the p[rob]lems within the next few years ... were partly structural and partly ... by the recession.

Even Götte sees no differe[nce bet]ween his own rescue plans and h[is pre]decessor's.

Lennings' surprise resignation h[ad no]thing to do with objective busines[s rea]sons.

The 18-line communiqué on [the su]pervisory board session vaguely s[poke] of "differences of views on pe[rsonnel] and organisational matters."

But closer scrutiny reveals this ... secondary procedural dispute — ... cially compared with the loss of th[ou]sands of jobs due to the crash ... cure for MAN.

Citing Section 105 of the act g[over]ning public companies, Lennings ... ed to have himself elected for ... to the management board of the ... subsidiary MAN. He felt that by ... over the management reins he could ... the listing ship back on an even keel.

His fellow board member Sieg... Schiffbauer was also earmarked for ... temporary place on the MAN manage[ment] board on top of his duties at the GHH head office.

This meant that MAN's chief fi[nan]cial officer, Gerd Wolburg, who ... blamed for a number of the compa[ny's] flops, would have to vacate his seat ... the board.

This plan was opposed not only ... the Commerzbank's supervisory bo[ard] chairman, Paul Lichtenberg, an ... enemy of Lennings who, acting on be[half] of Allianz, was trying to ...

Continued on page 7

■ FINANCE

Bank crash averted as consortium steps in with DM600m rescue package

... rescue operation has been mounted to save a German bank from going [to] the wall. A deal amounting to about [DM]600m has plugged the hole at SMH. [It] was a tense time for German bank[ing]. A new scandal would have shaken [the] confidence of investors.

It was not the sheer size of the sums [in]volved that caused the tension. More [im]portant was that one of the bank's se[nio]r partners, Alwin Münchmeyer, was [for] many years president of the national [fede]ration of German banks and the [lea]ding conference of German chambers of commerce and industry.

[H]e had long retired from involvement [in th]e bank's day-to-day business, which [was] under the control of his son, [Han]s-Hermann.

SMH-Bank (from a contraction of [Sch]röder, Münchmeyer, Hengst & Co) [wa]s formed on 1 January 1968 through a [mer]ger of three long-established private [ba]nks.

The crisis arose when borrowers of [DM]900m lent by SMH found them[sel]ves in trouble and repayments were [thr]own into doubt.

The DM900m accounted for close to [one]-third of the assets of SMH (just un[de]r DM2.2bn at the end of 1982) and its [Lu]xembourg subsidiary (with assets of [D]M1.1bn).

The German banking supervision au-

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

thority in Berlin has accepted only DM300m of the collateral as sound.

One of the main problems was that a major portion of the loans money was accounted for by the Mainz-based IBH construction machinery group of Horst-Dieter Esch (See story page 6).

While German banking laws impose strict lending limits — maximum 75 per cent of a bank's capital — Luxembourg knows no such restrictions.

Faced with over-extention, the four personally liable SMH owners had no choice but to tell Bundesbank President Karl Otto Pöhl.

Pöhl and the president of the Berlin Banking Supervision Authority, Inge Lore Bähre, instantly launched a dramatic rescue operation.

Though the solution they arrived did have problems, it benefited the whole banking community.

A special deposit insurance fund operated by the banks jumped into the breach with D150m. A consortium of 20 banks converted DM450m of SMH's lines of credit into capital with second place liability.

The total package amounted to a bit over DM600m, the amount SMH needed to plug the hole.

SMH's management was given an advisory panel consisting of three representatives of private banks, one of the Savings Bank Association and one representing the Volksbanken group. Hamburg's central bank is auditing SMH's books.

The newly appointed advisory panel now has the ultimate say at SMH although the owners are formally still in charge.

Most companies forming the IHB group have asked for court protection from creditors, Hanomag of Hanover, is one of the subsidiaries. This puts many jobs in jeopardy.

It had taken Horst-Dieter Esch only eight years to forge his IBH group into the world's third largest maker of construction machinery.

His idea was ingenious: he bought up sick companies for next to nothing and put them back on their feet.

A dispute has now started over who is to blame for IBH's near collapse: Esch himself or the SMH Bank.

With close to DM1bn in endangered deposits, the SMH Bank's dilemma is of almost the same magnitude as the Herstatt Bank scandal. But there are two major differences:

No SMH customer will lose money. Many small savers at Herstatt lost theirs.

After the Herstatt scandal, the private banks established a deposit insurance fund that protects all bank customers up to a total of 30 per cent of the bank's own liable capital.

In concrete terms: if Deutsche Bank (whose position is above even the slightest suspicion) were taken as a yardstick each customer would be insured for DM1.5bn — an unbeatable deposit insurance.

The savings banks and Volksbanken have different insurance systems. They both act to support banks in trouble before it is too late. This is probably the most elegant solution to the problem.

Another difference between SMH and Herstatt is that the Herstatt Bank actually collapsed while the SMH Bank received a healthy money injection, and stays in operation.

Still, the SMH scandal has revealed two important points.

The first is that the collapse of IBH shows the main mistake of so many vertical take-off companies of all sizes in post-war Germany. In their growth euphoria before the latest international economic slump, they ignored the need for a solid financial cushion. They wanted growth to outstrip the very liquidity needed to protect them from collapse in a crisis.

And the second is that some bankers lack the integrity their customers have a right to expect of them. Too many banks have been too careless in handling customers' money.

Private banks and even state central banks have repeatedly come under criticism on this. The same applies to the incomprehensible mammoth loans by major German banks to shaky Third World and East Bloc countries. Have the banks bitten off more than they can chew?

In any event, the SMH affair is likely to change the German banking landscape.

The freedom German subsidiaries have enjoyed in Luxembourg is likely to end. The supervision authority will have to tighten up.

Heinrich Thöns

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 13 November 1983)

Continued from page 6

out a structural concept for MAN in collaboration with its managers.

Then Götte held that the head of a holding company could not be on constant trouble-shooting missions, rushing from one subsidiary to the next.

This, he said, would only be necessary if the MAN management board were unable to come up with a concept of its own or if it had not implemented a rescue plan approved by all.

Lennings has not yet come up with a clear answer to the question why he did not want to become the chairman of the MAN supervisory board and so help solve that company's structural problems in conjunction with its management board. He would certainly have been able to do this.

The fact that Lennings offered to resign over a conflict of much lesser significance indicates that he believed that the Regina Group intended to dismantle him piece by piece.

When Allianz delegated Götte to act on its behalf, Lennings must have realised that his executive qualities were increasingly being put into question by the shareholders.

There are two main reasons why the changing of the guard went off rather smoothly despite the fact that some supervisory board members of the two major shareholders were pretty visibly disenchanted.

Any continuation of the wrangling over personnel matters would have damaged the company's reputation still further. And nobody doubts that the Lennings opponents picked a man of undisputed managerial abilities when opting for Götte.

Götte, a law graduate from Lower Saxony, has had as meteoric a career as his predecessor.

After graduating (with studies into the status of the United Nations in terms of international law), Götte first worked for the Düsseldorf-based privated bank C.G. Trinkaus. In 1968, Günter Vogelsang, Krupp's chief executive, offered him the job of head of finances.

In 1972, he moved on to the board of Allianz where he was primarily in charge of the huge group's investments. His familiarity with GHH affairs dates back to that time.

His only mistake was to have joined the Düsseldorf Flick concern in 1980. When sole owner Friedrich Karl Flick dismissed his partners Eberhard von Brauchitsch and Hanns Arnt Vogels late last year, Götte quit.

He knows better than anybody else that the job awaiting him at the helm of GHH will be tough.

In the past months, Götte made a point of visiting all major MAN facilities to get a picture of the problems.

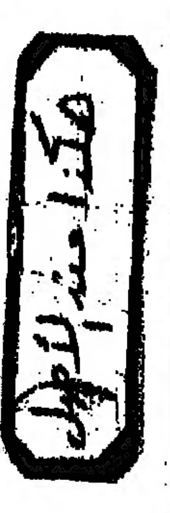
But viable concepts for those sectors of production that are in difficulties now will not be enough in the long run.

The concern became too bogged down in classical heavy machinery under Klaus Haniel and Manfred Lennings.

If the GHH star is to shine again, Klaus Götte will have to open up new modern technology markets: "I know that there's a lot to be done."

Hans Otto Eglau

(Die Zeit, 11 November 1983)



■ THE STEEL INDUSTRY

Plans for merger between two giants falls through

The planned merger of West Germany's two biggest steelmakers, seen as a key element in Bonn's strategy to pull the industry out of crisis, has collapsed.

The two steel groups, Krupp and Thyssen, never really trusted each other in the merger talks that began in June 1982.

No sooner had the talks broken down than the chief executives of both parties pulled out complete blueprints for going it alone.

The merger fondered on money. Some says Thyssen was too greedy. Some say Bonn was too tightfisted.

Krupp people blame Thyssen more than Bonn, saying that Thyssen had "put the monetary obstacle too high."

Thyssen chairman Dieter Spethmann differs: "We went to the limit," he says.

And when told that Thyssen was accused by some of seeing everything from a book-keeper's perspective, he said: "That's stupid and unsubstantiated talk."

It is no secret why the two groups, which as recently as 19 October had reached agreement in principle after a marathon round of talks, now hold such different views on the failure of the merger plan.

Thyssen regards the steel sector as a permanent part of the concern. Krupp, on the other hand, wanted to get rid of steel to prevent other parts of the organisation from being affected by steel's troubles.

This seems substantiated by the admission by Alfons Gödde, chairman of Krupp Stahl AG, that his company would have agreed to less than the 25 per cent stake Thyssen proposed Krupp should have in the joint steel company.

Krupp needs some way out of its problems. The company is unable to pay this year's contractually agreed Christmas bonus in one lot. Contrary to the contract worked out in collective bargaining, half of the bonus is to be deferred until next year.

It is difficult to pin the blame for the failure of the merger plans on any one party. Even Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff refuses to commit himself, according to a Ministry press release.

But while unwilling to comment on the reasons for the breakdown of the talks, he is outspoken on the consequences: streamlining benefits to the tune of DM400m a year will now be lost.

The two groups involved don't contradict. Though their concepts for operating alone will also save money compared with the present situation, the saving would be greater had they merged.

But the merger would also have resulted in more layoffs than the 8,500 planned by Thyssen and the 4,000 at Krupp.

Heinz Kriwet, chairman of Thyssen Stahl (the steel branch of the group), expects only short-lived benefits from the more moderate layoffs to be implemented now because many rationalisation possibilities would not be fully exploited.

Since Thyssen and Krupp make up about half of Germany's steel industry and the other half has so far not even considered a merger, many rationalisation possibilities worth about DM800m a year will go to waste.

But neither Count Lambsdorff nor his North Rhine-Westphalian opposite number, Reimut Jochimsen, see any way of forcing the steelmakers into wedded bliss.

It is not the public sector's function to relieve companies of managerial decisions or to prejudice such decisions by detailed terms and conditions, says a Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry statement. As Reimut Jochimsen sees it, everything is wide open once again, especially the moderators' plan backed by the Bonn government: "Everybody can now go ahead and negotiate with anybody he chooses." He does not discount the possibility that Krupp and Hoesch will now again start merger talks although the originally planned merger between them that would have resulted in a proposed Ruhrstahl AG failed last year. The failure of the moderators' model to materialise is less dire than the loss of time caused by wrangling over it.

As long as Thyssen and Krupp negotiated, all other parties stood in the wings. Only Hoesch was actually active in a bid to put together its concept for going it alone.

Bonn, on the other hand, did nothing to bring the other merger candidates Hoesch, Klöckner and Salzgitter to the bargaining table.

It probably reckoned that once Thyssen and Krupp had merged everything else would fall into place.

Now, Bonn is faced with the wreckage of its half-hearted restructuring policy.

The liquidity bottlenecks that have been a way of life with Arbed Saarstahl could now easily spread to other steelmakers.

The situation on the steel market is not exactly conducive to alleviating such problems. The German market is flooded with imports that have depressed prices. If imported steel were offered at same prices as the German variety, import quota would not be 40 to 50 per cent but four to five per cent, says Thyssen's Heinz Kriwet.

But imported steel sells for DM100 to DM200 a ton less than German steel. "90 per cent of its comes from countries with highly subsidised steel industries," says Kriwet.

The president of the Dortmund Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Rolf Brickenstein, sees little chance of getting out of the crisis through merge[rs].

"What good is it for our companies to reduce production costs by DM50 a ton when foreign companies are subsidised to the tune of DM200 a ton?" asks Brickenstein.

Count Lambsdorff: "My government will not put up with having jobs in Germany's efficient steel industry jeopardised by market distortions due to subsidies."

He says Bonn's current aim is to keep the German production within the Community at the level of the past few years.

This would mean that Bonn would have to rescue troubled steelmakers when necessary because Brussels steel market guidelines provide for quotas allotted to a specific company to lapse 12 months after a bankruptcy.

This means that the collapse of a German company would in no way benefit other German steelmakers. Instead it would benefit foreign competitors.

But this provision expires on 31 January 1984, and no extention is as yet in the offing.

Bonn would be well advised to insist on a change because Germany's privately owned steel companies are more susceptible to bankruptcy than the subsidised or semi-nationalised companies in neighbouring countries.

Heinz-Günter Kemmer

(Die Zeit, 11 November 1983)

A hot time for steel. (Photo: J. H. Darchinger)

IBH in trouble

Continued from page 6

Duffryn and Babcock International (13.2 per cent each) and his house bank, SMH (7.5 per cent).

Despite his success the major banks still viewed Esch with suspicion. They wanted to see how he intended to consolidate his business and manage his somewhat confused empire worth billions of deutschemarks.

IBH's liquidity remained tight despite its financially potent shareholders.

This forced Esch to use increasingly intricate ways of raising cash — a task made even more difficult by years of slump.

If the market had recovered in time, his chances of standing up to the established competition would have been better.

As it worked out, the group's overall commitments towards German and foreign banks rose to DM550m, DM260m accounted for by the German operation. On top of this, some DM220m is owed to suppliers.

A capital increase last December by DM100m and the shareholders waiving of DM200m due to them were meant to stop the worst from happening.

But the SMH Bank's problems made this rescue blueprint redundant.

Since IBH has not yet presented its 1982 balance sheet, there could still be some surprises.

Esch himself never considered the possibility that he might one day have to ask for court protection from his creditors. He never considered the possibility of finding himself in any sort of deep trouble.

A couple of years ago, when sceptics asked him what he would do if things went wrong, he said: "I wouldn't count on rescue by a bank or a major shareholder. The only way open to me and my people would be self-deliverance: work harder."

Dankward Seitz

(Die Welt, 9 November 1983)

State cash grant pulls Arbed back from the deathbed

An immediate DM50m boost of state money has given steel manufacturer Arbed Saarstahl a chance of survival.

But neither the Federal government in Bonn nor the Saar state government is prepared to say that the company, with its payroll of 17,200, has been saved.

They refer to a statement by the Arbed management saying that the company will not need more public money after 1986.

Until then, Arbed Saarstahl, which has so far cost the taxpayer DM3bn, will continue to need government help.

As part of the deal, all workers must retire at 50. A mediating panel decided this against the vote of the overall Arbed works council and the metalworkers union.

This means that 5,200 Arbed workers will draw an average 82 per cent of their last net pay (rather than the previous 90 per cent for those retired after age 55) until age 60, when they become eligible for pensions.

This eight per cent drop will save DM40m. Further savings are to come from a freeze on pay increases next year.

But Bonn and the Saarland will have to provide another DM100m. The banks are also heavily involved.

Is this all enough to save Arbed? The answer will partly depend on the steel market, which is not rosy. Nor are the expectations of those involved in the rescue.

Dieter Piel

(Die Zeit, 11 November 1983)

COMMUNICATIONS

What the electronic crystal ball says

DIE ZEIT

[The] Bonn Bundestag has just debated [the] new media, and about time! [There] may be talk of missile modernisation and tree deaths, of structural crises [and m]ass unemployment, but the cable [age is] slowly, inexorably dawning.

[We] can but guess what it will hold in [store]. All that can be said for sure is [that li]ke the major challenges in current [affair]s, the communications revolution [is] to fill many with fear and foreboding.

[The] Bundestag was unable to provide [guid]ance and relief. Political parties [al]l too disagreed on media policy.

[But] the parliamentary debate in Bonn [may m]ark the beginning of a discussion [go]ing beyond the level of media [pundits] and expert committees.

[They] have for far too long been the [forum] for dealing with technological [develo]pments that urgently need discussing [b]y a wider public and explaining [wha]t their repercussions will soon be.

[Th]e debate on our electronic future [may] have got off to a slow start, but [polit]icians have by no means been entirely to blame. There are other reasons.

[Gen]eral curiosity has naturally been [kept] in check by the very complexity of [the s]ubject. The new media are so full of [promi]ses it is hard to keep track of them.

[Whe]re coaxial cable and digitalised [tele]phone systems, satellites and optical [fibr]e, pay TV and videotex are concerned, the prospects often go beyond [the p]owers of imagination of the average consumer.

[Th]at is why there has been nothing [but] a gut reaction so far to the fundamental question, which is whether the [coun]try ought to be trussed up by cable. [Sh]ould data, text and extra TV programmes be cabled into all our homes? [The] gut response can hardly be said to [com]e as a surprise.

[Si]milar reactions have lately been [trigg]ered by other technical innovations [rang]ing from atoms for peace to computerised identity cards.

[T]here has been a categorical "no" on [the] part of everyone who is opposed to [tech]nological innovations, be it on [groun]ds of justified anxiety or by way of [a ne]urotic veto outlook.

[It] has been matched by a hopeful [..] on the part of those who feel all [tech]nologies can be mastered, or at least [that] the risks are less than the advantages.

[Th]at leaves those who feel they have [no] choice but to bow to the inevitable. [Lik]e Karl Kraus 60 years ago, they feel [the] development of technology has [left] us defenceless in the face of technology.

Scepticism predominates. Yet there is [no] answer forthcoming to whether the [new] media are desirable, feasible or [polit]ically acceptable in Germany.

The anxious general view merely con[firm]s a point that came to light during [simi]lar debates on the future in years [gon]e by.

It is that the Federal Republic of Germany may be a first-rate industrialised country in performance, but not in its basic attitude toward technology. A country that is to maintain such high standards will need to show courage, commitment and imagination in the long term. Other countries currently seem much more readily prepared to commit themselves to the shape of technologies to come.

That is not to say that American enthusiasm about computers, Japanese obsession with electronics and French nonchalance in dealing with atomic energy need necessarily be emulated.

All that is needed is to appreciate how little hue and cry there has been about the cable revolution in other countries.

Seven out of 10 Swiss homes are cabled up (partly due to geographical conditions). In Austria the percentage is 35, in the United States 57.

Does danger lie ahead if we decide to follow suit? Political parties are now debating the pros and cons, and the fronts are taking shape as sides are taken.

The Federal government is strongly in favour of stepping up expansion of the cable network, with Posts and Telecom Minister Christian Schwarz-Schilling leading the faithful.

As the man in charge of the telecom monopoly he conjures visions of a rose-tinted cable future.

He, unlike even many fellow-Christian Democrats, is convinced conversion of the cable network will create tens of thousands of new jobs.

He also claims that the cable revolution will result in exportable technologies being developed and in additional radio and TV programmes boosting the range of views voiced.

> ‘Fears that an increase in programmes will tend to stupefy the viewing public’

The Opposition is less enthusiastic. It is doubtful about the value of converting the grid as a means of job creation.

It is afraid that electronic rationalisation may prove detrimental in its effect on the labour market.

It warns that radio and TV programme inflation may tend to stupefy the listening and viewing public and is worried that conservative forces alone will stand to benefit.

A number of arguments on both sides owe more to party-political egoism than to concern for the public good.

As in other cases of far-reaching change, the cable revolution is partly a matter of maintaining existing positions and extending spheres of influence.

That is why two key questions are not answered in the party-political dispute. They are:

First, how are we to set about cabling the country up? The Ministry's urge to go ahead is in keeping with what is technically feasible and economically necessary.

An industrialised country must take advantage of the opportunities electronics provides of ensuring faster, more comprehensive and storable information.

But the Bundespost has taken a step in the wrong direction by deciding to truss up the entire country in coaxial cable costing billions (estimates range from DM20bn to DM50bn).

The benefits to be derived from this outlay are negligible, amounting in the final analysis to additional relay facilities for a few extra TV programmes.

In the communications sector there are better uses to which the taxpayer's money could be put. Spending on a digitalised telephone network should prove more profitable, for one.

It could provide a much better service at much less expense, relaying data and stationary images by the dialog process.

Optical cable is already available as the most important medium for the future. German industry can already manufacture it and the equipment needed to convert optical into electronic signals.

But restraint is called for, given countrywide expenditure totalling between DM100bn and DM300bn. A more sensible and politically meaningful investment would be to leave industry to get on with it in built-up areas.

Let it raise its own capital to finance experiments, while maintaining the Bundespost's telecom monopoly for purposes of supervision.

That would save the government money and us all unpleasant experiences with the experimental stages.

Second, are we going to be inundated with cable radio and TV programmes? The technical scene certainly seems to be on the point of being set for a horror scenario.

There does seem to be an alarming prospect of a confusing variety pouring forth from loudspeakers and screens, of programmes at tabloid level, of influence being wielded by media entrepreneurs without the possibility of control and of the entire country being snowed under by programmes relayed via foreign satellite transmitters.

These are keywords that stand for a communications catastrophe with political and social repercussions that would be sure to go far beyond anything one could predict.

Yet there is no need for nightmares. There are limits to the number of programmes that could be beamed at us.

Cable radio and TV is an expensive venture. A national cable TV network on a commercial basis would, it is estimated, run at a loss for probably a decade.

There is a limit to the advertising budgets of German companies. Doubts have already arisen as to whether existing ventures in commercial TV will earn enough to make ends meet.

It will also be extremely difficult to produce enough programme material to mark time between advertising slots.

Pilot projects in Ludwigshafen and Munich have shown what an obstacle race private TV can be, although their slow start could yet gain momentum.

The cable revolution opens up incalculable options, both good and bad. It can make services easier and cheaper. It can speed up the flow of information to an enormous extent. It can rationalise production.

But the electronic autobahn network set up by the new media may prove equally dangerous. Cable communications may be too demanding on us all, cutting us off from society and making our labour superfluous.

> ‘Bundespost has made a wrong choice by deciding to truss the nation in coaxial cable’

It conjures visions of Orwell's two-way TV in *1984*, a bitter foretaste of which we in Germany were given in the Third Reich, the era of the *Volksempfänger,* or all-pervading Nazi radio.

With so many options open and questions unanswered it is up to politicians to lay down the framework within which data abuse and destructive overexposure to audiovisual stimuli are forestalled.

It is up to them to strike a balance between the profit and loss of the new technology.

Since cable grids will be an indispensable part of the infrastructure of modern industrialised countries, mere opposition is no solution.

Nothing but the determination to exercise political control over technological developments will hold forth the prospect of the benefits outweighing the drawbacks.

Will cable society in 20 or 30 years be a better-informed and more productive society? Thoreau hit on the fundamental issue at stake over 130 years ago when he noted: "We are going to great lengths to establish a telegraphic link between Maine and Texas, but maybe Maine and Texas have nothing important to tell each other."

What will we have to tell each other via the communications network of the future?

Dieter Buhl

(Die Zeit, 11 November 1983)



Progress rolls on. (Photo: Kurt Heinrich)

■ LITERATURE

Discovery of lost Grimm fairy tale not the sensation it is claimed to be

Frankfurter Allgemeine

US news agencies have excitedly announced the discovery of a lost fairy tale from the collection made by the Brothers Grimm.

It is said to be possibly the only Grimm manuscript outside the Bodmer Library in Geneva.

We have had to accustom ourselves to the idea of increasingly expecting new ideas in the arts to hail from America and of giving them an enthusiastic welcome as soon as they are heralded.

Bruno Bettelheim's far from new psychoanalytical interpretation of dreams was recently greeted with enthusiastic acclaim on this basis.

But the announcement than the Grimm manuscript is to be published with full annotations in the United States puts a damper on initial scepticism.

Peter Demetz, the Yale professor, is quoted in this connection as having said that the Brothers Grimm were among the most outstanding figures in culture and civilisation.

The manuscript, which had found a new home in the United States, was thus extremely important.

The brilliant book illustrator Maurice Sendak is reported to plan getting down to work immediately on the fairy tale because he feels it is wonderful, beautiful and touching.

And as the manuscript changed hands for over $26,000 it would seem to merit closer consideration after all.

In 1816 Wilhelm Grimm wrote a letter to a so far unidentified "Dear Milli" in which he told a tale beginning with the time-honoured formula: "Once upon a time."

It is the tale of a girl who is sent into the woods by her mother because of the risk of war. There she meets an old man and works as his servant for three days.

When they part he tells her he is St Joseph and gives her a rosebud. When it flowers she will be able to return to him.

A guardian angel takes her back to her old mother (who has aged because it was really 30 years, not three days). They both die on meeting again, and between them the rosebud flowers.

If the buyer of the manuscript is worried the tale might already have been published and were to demand his money back if that had been the case, let him rest assured. It hasn't.

First, Wilhelm Grimm obviously felt it was too poor or uncharacteristic and as a result didn't mention it in his annotation of the collected fairy tales (which he normally would have done).

Second, he didn't even keep a copy of the tale he told in the letter. There is certainly no trace of one in his literary remains.

That makes the letter none the less interesting for specialists in the Brothers Grimm or in fairy tales, but less so for the general reader with an interest in fairy tales.

The tale is by no means as original as it is made out to be either.

First, it is not a text the Brothers Grimm felt was ready to go to the printers. They didn't even authorise it in their usual way as an important find.

Second, it is not even unique in having been told in a letter written to a child. In 1953 Wilhelm Schoof published half a dozen such letters owned by Marburg University library.

They were written in spring 1808 by Jacob Grimm to the Savigny children and reveal important early stages of the tales as told in the 1812 published collection of Grimm's fairy tales.

Unlike the manuscript now discovered, they were written four years before the fairy tales were published, and not four years afterwards.

The 1808 letters are extremely important but have gone unnoticed by a wider public.

It is disconcerting to see that US experts are unaware of the existence of a book twice reprinted and clearly entitled Fairy Tales from the Literary Remains of the Brothers Grimm.

It contains previously unpublished Grimm fairy tales manuscripts from their Berlin literary remains. It also comments on the entire situation with regard to Grimm manuscripts.

The manuscripts at the Bodmer Library in Geneva are only the "original manuscripts" on which the 1812 collection was partly based.

Other manuscripts have survived not only in Berlin but also, for instance, in Marburg and Kassel.

What, then, about the tale told by Wilhelm Grimm in 1816? It is clearly a 19th century-style children's tale, and not a genuine fairy tale.

This conclusion is indicated by both the characters of the saint and the angel and the ending of the tale.

The idea of the heroine returning home and dying is decidedly anti-fairy tale, as is the idea of her mother having aged.

Genuine fairy tale characters don't age and heroes and heroines don't die. The tale as told is merely a variation on one of the published Grimm's children's stories.

These stories have been appended to the fairy tales proper since the second edition of the tales was published in 1819.

The first story tells the tale of St Joseph in the woods, and the version told in the 1816 letter is a slightly longer one.

It contains a number of additions: wandering motifs ... where in the Grimm's child...

The second story include... switch, the third a child be... the woods by its mother and... a rosebud by the infant Jesus.

When it flowers they will... The child dies, then the rosebud...

As all these stories were... Brothers Grimm by a family of... noblemen, the von Haxthausen... identical motifs in the newly... tale would seem to indicate... source.

Wilhelm Grimm may have... that the tale was merely a co... motifs found elsewhere and... was of little real value.

Milli lends an ear

But rather than make no m... told it to Milli, whoever she... been: no less, but no more.

This version is of interest to... cialist, but otherwise it seem... case of much ado about noth... could but wish the media w... more attention to German rese... the Brothers Grimm.

In 1985 and 1986 there will... reason for doing so. It will be th... tennial year of their respective...

Heinz ...

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, ...)

State government wants to buy DM6m 12th century manuscript

The Lower Saxony state government wants to buy what is believed to be the most valuable manuscript in private hands.

At the same time, it has abandoned a charge that the manuscript was illegally sent out of Germany shortly after the war.

The item is an illustrated manuscript of the gospels dated 1175 which outlines the contemporary Christian view of events at that time.

Involved in the story around the manuscript is the House of Hanover in the person of Prince Ernst-August, 69.

The manuscript deals with a famous ancestor of King Henry the Lion of Saxony, a member of what was later to be the House of Hanover.

The book was written for the King by the monks at Helmarshausen monastery

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

on the Weser and is one of the most outstanding exemples of mediaeval manuscript art.

It is included in the catalogue of protected works of art listed in an Act of 6 August 1955 and as such may not be exported.

But the book has since been reported missing and did not reappear until the news came from London that it was to be put up for auction.

No-one knows where it has been, not even the state government of Lower Saxony, which had made inquiries, as the state assembly in Hanover was told.

All that is known is that it is expected to raise £1.6m, or about DM6.4m, and was offered for sale to the British Museum shortly before the Second World War.

No-one is saying who made the offer (the House of Hanover is related to the British royal family), but in the event it was not taken up.

Dr Cassens, the Lower Saxon Minister of Education and Science, told the assembly in glowing terms how valuable the book was, but he failed to say who held it and who was entitled to it.

Until the end of the war the House of Hanover was its sole owner. It was now owned by a number of individuals. In spite of excited enquiries Dr Cassens was unable to say more.

He had been unable to find out whether the House of Hanover's rights of ownership were restricted in any way.

All available information indicates that the book left the territory of what is now the Federal Republic of Germany in about 1946.

That was why it was struck from the list of protected works of art in 1961. So he saw no way of taking legal action against the auction.

In this respect, he told the assembly, he was of the same opinion as the Bonn Ministry of the Interior.

Dr Cassens has no more to say for himself even though Herr Wernstedt, a Social Democratic assemblyman, expressed the feeling of the House in a spirited complaint.

He felt it was intolerable how the assembly was being led down the garden path by the House of Hanover. Dr Cassens tried to ease the pressure of criticism on the Prince; there are close ties between the state government and the former royal house.

Prince Ernst-August said three years ago that he no longer owned the goods that were up for auction. On the... sion he was suspected of having... collection of 18th century... table silver auctioned.

The collection, of about 6... had likewise been missing for... It turned up at Sotheby's in... 1980.

It had belonged to the Princes... of Hildesheim and was taken... the King of Hanover at the begi... the 19th century when the bisho... secularised.

His legal heirs were, from 1... kingdom and state of Prussia... 1946, the state of Lower Saxony.

But Prince Ernst-August ... discussion on who owned the s... was to be auctioned in Geneva... he had nothing to do with the m...

The silver had gone to Austri... 1920s, been sold there and wa... ger owned by the House of Ha...

A Salzburg newspaper looked... matter and found that no-one... thing about silver tableware at... noverian castle of Gmunden... see in Austria.

Sotheby's said the seller wa... named Austrian, auctioned the... DM5.5m and saw it go to at l... bidders.

One was the city of Hildesheim... of Hanover, which bought a fe... for DM80,000. Another was a... collector. A third was a Wiesbad... lector by the name of Neubau... suspected of acting on behalf of... varian government.

The silver was made in 176... burg, Bavaria. It cost 50,000...

A year ago the House of Hano... ed roughly DM10m by selling... tion of 50,000 coins from the 1... 19th centuries.

They too looked like b... abroad. Two Lower Saxon bank... DM3m each to keep the coll... country. The remainder was... retired banker and art-lover... Josef Abs.

Josef ...

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 Novemb...)

...ulations designed to prevent fo... students enrolling at German ...ities have been amended following ...ency.

...regulations, which have heavily ...d the number of foreign students, ...d on bureaucratic hindrances and ...ing tactics.

...the amendments have led to ...s that the government has got it ...g.

...tightening-up process began in ...when resolutions passed by the ...ing Conference of (state) Educa... Ministers had the effect of barring Turks, Greeks and Iranians from ...g at German universities.

...he most significant change was ...hich involved the 14th ordinance ...e Aliens Act which became law on ...ember 1982.

...ed that foreigners intending to ...more than three months in Germany, including those intending to apply for a university place, must obtain ...ry visa and long-term residence ...before leaving their home country.

...aim was to limit the number of ...ers coming to Germany. Those ...ave been hit hardest are intending ...

...sounds like a mere bureaucratic ...contains enough to, in effect, stop ...ers, particularly from The Third ...from enrolling at universities.

...example to illustrate the practical ...of the regulations: a 19-year-old ...cian applied to study engineering ...hen's Technical University.

...was accepted for the winter semes... acceptance papers arrived in In... near the end of August. This ...him until the end of September to ...Aachen and enrol.

...was ready to leave when he learn... needed an entry permit and resi... permit. His appliation was put ...gh the official channels, which are ...the German Embassy in Djakarta; ...reign Office in Bonn; the State In... Ministry; then to a government ...ity; and finally to the aliens de... ...ent in Aachen.

...was approved and sent back ...gh the same route to Djakarta. The ...esian applicant began to realise ...e bureaucratic hold ups would ...a delay of about four months be... he could leave for Germany. He ...miss his enrolment deadline, and ...his place.

...he came to Germany anyway with ...hope that the aliens department ...let him stay. But it did not work ...that way. He was told he must return ...Djakarta because the German Em... there was the only issuing authori... the papers.

■ EDUCATION

Foreign students run the bureaucratic gauntlet

This is no isolated case. Applicants throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America have been involved in futile races against time.

German universities are being flooded with cables saying that visa and residence difficulties are preventing would-be students from meeting enrolment deadlines.

The West German Conference of University Rectors (WRK) says it is "shocked" by the regulations.

Bonn Aliens Commissioner Liselotte Funcke says they are "unhelpful." The SPD spoke of a "unique blend of intellectual and moral provincialism and unsurpassed stupidity."

The voices heard at academic centres for foreign students range from "incomprehensible" to "disgraceful." And Deputy FDP Chairman Jürgen Morlok said the whole thing was "inhuman and unworthy of a Christian party."

Until recently, West Germany's treatment of foreign students was regarded as exemplary. Six to eight per cent of available university places were reserved for foreigners, who were not subject to the feared *numerus clausus* (stiff minimum qualifications for certain faculties).

Many applicants refuse to believe that the German government is pursuing a lockout policy through a deadline gimmick.

Many enter Germany without the necessary papers, either out of ignorance about the new regulations or because they have been told by the German Embassy abroad to go to Germany anyway and that things would fall into place.

Applicants who have come to Germany with this hope and who have been told to return say that applications at the embassy have to be supported by a university acceptance and that missing the deadline for enrolment was deliberate.

The bureaucratic reaction has been to shrug it off.

The inevitable has now happened. The number of foreign first year students has dropped markedly.

Statistics of the German Teachers Union (GEW) and the World University Service show that the significant drop in foreign enrolments occurred as early as the summer semester of 1983: 37 out of 100 admitted applicants did not show up for enrolment. Many of the foreign students' centres describe this figure as "appallingly high."

Of the 144 admitted applicants to Mannheim University, 61 did not enrol.

Stuttgart University reports a 50 per cent no-show rate. So does Trier, the Darmstadt Technical University, the Wuppertal Comprehensive University and the Berlin Academy of Arts.

A Berlin faculty member says: "Foreign applicants who fall under the provisions of the '14th Ordinance' can no longer enrol in time."

The deadline squeeze does not apply to nationals of the EEC and seven other nations with special status: USA, Spain, Switzerland, Austria, Monaco, Honduras and the Dominican Republic.

But just about all Third World applicants find themselves locked out.

The effects in terms of development: Development aid in the form of university education — put at DM600m to DM900m, depending on how it is figured — will automatically decline.

The training of students from developing countries is paid for by the states. This amount is the biggest single item outside the DM6.4bn budget of the Bonn Development Aid Ministry.

German development aid principles are also violated by the fact that our provision of university places for foreigners has degenerated into pure promotion of the elite.

Only financially privileged Third World students, those on scholarships and those studying under government exchange programmes can now study here. And it is doubtful whether this handpicked urban elite will later be prepared to work for the rural masses at home.

Understanding between peoples and cultural exchange have also suffered.

In the early post-war era, academics and politicians went out of their way to attract foreign students. There was an enormous need to regain international recognition because the isolation during the Nazi era had made German universities provincial.

Coloured students in particular were seen as symbols of universities' new open-mindedness and internationalism.

Bonn decided in September partly to "repair" its 14th Ordinance.

True to the principle "act first, think later," the education ministers, the WRK, the Academic Exchange Service and the Foreign Office have agreed to introduce a special "university applicant's visa."

The provisions: anybody who can present the German Embassy with a secondary school leaving certificate comparable to the German *abitur* can get an instant entry visa without much red tape.

This means that those who want to come to Germany to look around, get advice and apply to a university are free to do so.

People who manage to get a university place can stay by converting their original visa into a student's visa. Those who do not get a place must leave.

The new provisions are supposed to be tested in the 1984 summer and the 1984/85 winter semesters.

But this is still uncertain, pending approval by the states.

Given this approval, the provisions would remove the deadline barrier — but not the restrictive policy on foreign students.

Detractors criticise primarily the so-called "financial proof." Even under the new provisions, only those who can prove that they can support themselves would be admited to the country.

In any event, this is what Interior Minister Zimmermann recommended to the Foreign Office in his letter of 10 May this year.

If this financial proof were to be based on the maximum rate of *BaföG*, the government study allowance (as planned), future applicants would have to prove that they have between DM40,000 and DM60,000 at their disposal.

Few people in the Third World can do this, leaving them with as little chance as they now have under the 14th Ordinance.

Under the envisaged provisions, it would be up to consular officials to decide who gets a chance to study in Germany. It would be they who would assess the school leaving certificates.

This would strip our universities of the right to decide on admission. Moreover, the consular officials would be as restrictive in their assessments as they are told to be by the Bonn Foreign Office.

Assessing Third World school leaving certificates is a business for specialists. Embassies and consulates would be totally overtaxed.

In fact, some embassies were already overloaded in the last semester and have said so, according to Heidelberg University. Even top officials of the Foreign Office Cultural Department have described the new model as "harebrained."

Officials at the foreign students' centres are agreed that the whole thing will backfire.

Bernd Girrbach

(Die Zeit, 28 October 1983)

■ RESEARCH

Beauty and the beasts: debate over cosmetics and lab guinea pigs

Natural cosmetics have found their slot in the market. A few months ago they were only available in health food shops. Now they are in department stores too. They come in plain little pots and containers without the usual expensive packaging and colour.

But a label proclaims the good news to the enlightened consumer: "Contents good for a limited period only. No artificial preservatives. Guaranteed not tested on laboratory animals."

Anti-vivisectionists used to feel the pharmaceutical industry was their main opponent. Emotion swept objective argument aside, replacing it with wholesale accusations and hackneyed cliches.

While the one side complained about woe-begone animal-lovers the other lashed out at irresponsible scientists. But the debate has now switched to a fresh topic.

To mark the world action day the German Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals published an eight-page leaflet on cosmetics experiments with laboratory animals.

On the very first page a suffering animal is illustrated, sending out a mute appeal for help to the reader. It is a puppy with its forepaws tied together and a brutal device keeping its jaw wide open.

The caption is designed to trigger feelings of guilt: "Millions of animals, and not just this dog, suffer like this for you if you use cosmetics tested on laboratory animals."

Is it true that a profit-orientated industrial Mafia allows tens of thousands of animals to suffer unnecessarily every day?

Do they really allow it to go on just to be able to come up with a steady succession of new shades, formulas and fragrances for vain women, infinitely extending the range of superfluous products?

It is not merely a matter of purely decorative and thus superfluous items such as make-up, powder and eyeshadow but of articles we buy and use day by use without giving them a moment's thought.

They include soap, suntan oil, skin cream and deodorant. All are tested on animals first because people are seriously worried they might cause damage or harmful side-effects.

Only when they have passed laboratory experiments are they allowede to be marketed.

Polls indicate that the number of anti-vivisectionists in Germany has rapidly increased to 18 per cent. Telling them to stop buying cosmetics is not enough.

The leaflet names 26 small and medium-sized manufacturers who have signed an affidavit to the effect that no experiments with laboratory animals have been carried out in connection with their cosmetics or the raw materials they contain and none will be carried out in future.

It also lists the many large firms, from Arden to Yardley, that were either unable or unwilling to sign or didn't even bother to reply.

A number of companies pilloried in this way have hit back. A group of manufacturers including Juvena, Rubinstein and Guerlain held a seminar on the subject of laboratory experiments.

Manufacturers who had signed the affidavit were claimed not to be as pure as the driven snow as they preferred to see themselves.

Some were said to have resorted to trickery and false evidence, while their products were, to say the least, not entirely satisfactory. Some were full of germs.

Lothar Motitschke, technical director at Marbert, was convinced there were instances of false pretences.

"Products labelled in this way have been probed and found in many cases to include substances that must have been tested on laboratory animals for compatibility," he said.

Most cosmetics manufacturers base their creams and lotions on essential oils and fragrances supplied by raw materials producers.

The cosmetics manufacturers are as much in the dark as their customers on what their suppliers have tested on laboratory animals.

The approved manufacturers, Herr Motitschke says, are in breach of either the law or their responsibility to consumers. A number of companies are considering taking them to court.

There is certainly a dilemma. What consumers want are effective substances that can also be guaranteed harmless. The Food and Drugs Act mainly bans substances that are likely to be a health hazard to the consumer. Cosmetics must not harm the skin or mucous membranes (the eyes or mouth, for instance). All substances must be non-toxic and wherever possible they must not trigger allergies. Practical problems mainly arise from the arbitrary way in which these and other provisions are interpreted. What is meant by the statutory term "in foreseeable use," for instance? Does it include a child eating a lipstick it finds lying around the home? Does it include a child swallowing bath foam? It would surely be

Continued on page 13



Rabbits in the laboratory . . . how much are they really
(Photo: J.H.

Research developments are making it possible to reduce the number of animals killed in laboratory experiments, according to Bonn Health Minister Heiner Geissler.

Experiments on animals 'on the decline'

Much more information is likely to come from test tube experiments, he said during a ceremony to award prizes to three scientists for developing ways of experimenting without animals.

Herr Geissler said new practices would mean that whatever tests with living organisms still needed to be made would be selective and involve few animals.

The prize, DM30,000, was shared. DM20,000 went to Göttingen University Professors Paul-Gerhard Spieckermann and Hans Michael Piper. They succeeded in raising cultures of heart muscle cells that retained the properties of living cells.

DM10,000 went to the veterinarian Rudolph Barth, a specialist on rabies vaccines at the Marburg-based Behring Co.

He developed a serum test that makes it possible to test the vaccine in its various production phases in a test tube rather than on animals.

Only for the final tests are animals — mice — still needed.

The lives of some 180,000 mice have been spared since the new method was introduced by Behring.

Germany's pharmaceutical industry now uses slightly more than three million animals a year in its research departments. 96 per cent are rats, mice and other rodents.

The number of animals used for the testing of cosmetics and chemicals is estimated at 10m to 14m a year. They include sheep, goats, pigs and, above all, dogs, cats and apes or monkeys — though fewer animals in this category are used than is generally assumed.

German universities and the Max Planck Institutes, for instance, use a maximum of 5,000 cats and 1,000 dogs a year.

The pharmaceutical industry says that only 0.7 per cent of their laboratory animals are cats, dogs or apes and that the trend points downwards.

The public discussion on the extent and necessity of animal experiments has been going on for years.

One camp regards animal experiments as indispensable for science, medical progress and protection from harmful substances. The other camp demands their complete abolition. But this demand cannot be met until science has progressed further.

Work on methods that would make it possible to use laboratory tests instead of animals experiments has been in progress for decades.

Tissue cultures are already used for the production of vaccines, and new drugs against rheumatism and cardio-vascular disorders are tested on cultures.

Tests for cancer causing substances and genetic experiments are also frequently made in a test tube.

Cell cultures are started by putting animal tissues in suitable nutrients combined with additives.

Once the tissues have attached themselves to the wall of the vessel the cells exit and form a "cell-lawn."

One of the major obstacles has been selection of the suitable nutrient for each particular type of tissue. But the past decades have led to the development of many specific recipes and additives that now make it possible to maintain cell cultures of humans, and micro-organisms.

One animal test that has been replaced by cell cultures was carried out with rabbits. It involved tying up segments of the animal's intestines. Each of the segments was with a solution of bacteria. The tion of liquid 18 hours later indication that the injected were of the type that causes

This test method was primarily in the search for drugs against (which kills ten million people

The replacement of the animal by cell cultures was made possible the development of cultures the ovary cells of a special type of ster. The discovery was made by narians of the Federal Health in Berlin. One of the most common tests involves irritating the membrane of a rabbit's eye. The is used to test the effects of disinfectants and other chemical tances on the mucous membrane humans.

Berlin scientists now hope to same results from the conjunctive obtained from chicken embryos. tissues atrophy at the slightest with a harmful substance.

There is no substitute for animal periments in researching natural mechanical organ replacements. the progress made in lung-heart nor heart pacemakers nor kidney plants would have been possible tests involving dogs.

Animal experiments remain for research. But this does not the number of tests cannot be

This, in fact, is the purpose of amendment to the Animal Protection Act the Bonn Agriculture Ministry tends to table early next year.

Michael Glo

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 4 November

MEDICINE

Killer muscle disease still defies research efforts

mood at the 6th Symposium of German Society for Muscular in Bonn a few weeks ago was upbeat.

Research into muscular diseases has intensified in the past few years — primarily due to progress electron-microscopy, immuno- biochemistry, all of which has led to insights into healthy and muscle cells.

so, the therapeutic possibilities limited in most cases.

applies particularly to amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), a central system disorder of unknown The disease usually occurs after more often in men than in women. prognosis is grave — almost always Victims usually die within two years as muscular debility without affecting the mental

America's leading muscle researchers, A. G. Engel of the Mayo Clinic Rochester, Minn., reported on the hypotheses about the causes

researchers attribute ALS to a infection with slow viruses. put it down to changes in the nucleic acid metabolism and chronic poisoning with heavy metals. Yet another of thought blames the disease on malfunctioning of the substances that signals from the nerves.

animal experiments in America have gangliosides (a class of sugars in the tissues of the central nervous system) to promote the growth and generation of nerves. This has prompted American doctors and the Neurological Clinic of Bonn University to attempt treatment with ganglioside preparations.

The head of the Bonn Clinic, Professor Felix Jerusalem, told the meeting this approach had been unsuccessful both the United States and Bonn.

therapy is to be continued with dosages though scientists pin little hope on it. The number of patients involved will be limited.

experience so far with guanidine, in- and plasmapheresis, a form of cleansing, has also been disappointing.

Spinal muscle atrophy is also due to a of nerve cell disorder. This is a hereditary disease occurring in children in second half of the first year and the characteristic symptoms of muscular atrophy.

disease occurs in many forms, from benign to extremely malignant. The life expectancy of many affected children is greatly reduced. There is effective treatment.

some cases, scientists have managed to identify some of the causes of symptoms of the disease.

American and German work groups reported on extremely rare enzyme deficiency disorders with symptoms similar to spinal muscle atrophy.

Other rare muscular disorders have attributed to metabolism breakdowns and mitochondrial myopathy.

Treatment with carnitine and dietetic measures boosted by the administration of cortisone have shown promise.

Professor Jerusalem described the screening programme (CK Such Test) the early diagnosis of another group of hereditary muscular diseases, the so-called progressive muscular dystrophy, as successful.

The programme makes it possible to diagnose the disease immediately after birth and before it has got a hold.

The voluntary screening programme involving 119,000 new-born boys since 1977 has led to the identification of 35 cases of the disease.

This has led to improvements in genetic counselling and provided the basis for early treatment with medication once suitable drugs have been developed.

Professor Jerusalem conceded that CK Such tests are still controversial among doctors.

Progress has been made with myasthenia or muscular debility.

The past few years have brought some insights into the causes of the disorder. Myasthenia is now attributed to a blockage in the transmission of nerve impulses to the muscles. The blockage is said to be caused by an antibody against the acetylcholine receptors which play a major role in the transmission of nerve impulses.

The disease often occurs in early adulthood. It first affects the muscles controlling the eyes, speech, swallowing and chewing.

In some cases, the disease later spreads to the rest of the muscles.

The symptoms typically occur during daytime physical exertion. They improve or disappear during the rest period at night.

Electrophysiological and pharmacological tests plus the isolation of the antibodies against acetylcholine receptors now make it possible to reliably diagnose the disorder.

By suppressing the immunological reaction responsible for the formation of antibodies, doctors have greatly improved the prospects for patients.

They are now debating whether the removal of the thymus would provide relief in myasthenia cases affecting only the eye muscles.

The involvement of the thymus has been largely researched by Professor H. Weckerle of the Max Planck Institute in Würzburg.

The thymus contains muscle-like cells which, like the skeletal muscles, have acetylcholine receptors.

The assumption is that the auto-immunisation against acetylcholine receptors in myasthenia cases spreads from the thymus.

Since there is no promising treatment available for many muscular disorders, treatment consists primarily of physiotherapy.

The aim is to prevent a stiffening of the joints and deformation of the spine while strengthening the affected muscles.

This, together with orthopaedic treatment, can prolong a patient's ability to walk and stand by many years.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 November 1983)

Shattering kidney stones

This device made by aerospace firm Dornier in conjunction with Munich University makes operating unnecessary in two out of three kidney stone cases. It shatters the stones with shock waves. There is no pain. (Photo: Wilhelm Mierendorf)

Continued from page 12

overstretching the case to expect all cosmetics to be "edible" without harmful effects. But consumers can reasonably expect manufacturers to keep the risk of poisoning to a level low enough to be justified.

When a five-year-old child plays with lipstick there must be no possibility of serious toxic reactions occuring as a result.

To what extent must laboratory animals play their part in ensuring that people are able to distinguish between the toxic and the non-toxic and between the harmless and the less harmless?

It is hard to say. There are no statistics and licensing procedures by no means extend to cover all laboratory experiments.

Anti-vivisectionists say this must change. The industry is alleged to kill between seven and 14 million laboratory animals a year in experiments.

Yet Wolfgang Hainer of the industrial association says less than one per cent of animal experiments (which total six million a year) are carried out by member-companies.

Figures can easily distract attention from qualitative considerations, just as laboratory experiments on lower forms of life, such as paramoecium, are less likely to lead to an uproar than the torture of a German shepherd dog in the name of research. In cosmetics 90 per cent of experiments are carried out on rats and mice, but other laboratory animals used include frogs, hamsters and rabbits.

Dogs and cats are said to be safe. Their reactions cannot be equated with human responses, so the results of experiments on them are valueless.

Anti-vivisectionists are particularly critical of the LD 50 test, which is widely used in pharmaceutical and cosmetics research to determine the toxicity of unknown raw materials.

In this test at least 30 rodents are fed doses of the substance until at least half of them die. That is said to be the only way of finding out the lethal dose.

Much greater care is taken with the Draize test, which involves experiments on rabbits to find out how a substance affects the mucous membranes.

Protest has largely succeeded in persuading the industry to say it is prepared to make further cuts in the number of animal experiments carried out.

This is not done out of compassion, of course. Experiments cost time and money — between DM200,000 and DM2m — and raw materials suppliers charge for doing the "dirty work."

Much would have been gained if the licensing procedure for existing substances were at least simplified. They have all proved harmless in the course of regular use by consumers.

Alternatives must also be sought to make animal experiments superfluous, and here too the debate seems to be making headway.

In the Unites States the industry can resort to a fund that makes the quest for such alternatives financially rewarding. Similar proposals are under consideration in Germany. More and more substances could for that matter be tested on cell and bacteria cultures rather than on mammals. Samples of pig's skin and chicken embryo seem suitable too.

Cosmetics research could well work from the bottom up, administering minute doses first and gradually increasing them until animals show initial reactions, then abandoning the tests.

Last but not least, there must be an end to constant increases in the number of animals used even though larger numbers might boost scientific accuracy.

Klaus Militzer, head of the animal laboratory at Essen University and a scientist who feels experiments on laboratory animals are generally indispensable, says scientists must spare their animals and appreciate the limits of the model.

That leaves the option of trying out new cosmetics on human volunteers and making arguments as to whether animal findings are applicable to humans superfluous.

National or international data banks are a further possibility of preventing duplication and exchanging findings; but manufacturers' mistrust and fear of the competition present problems.

An ethics commission set up by the Scientific Research Association seems a more likely starter, but it would have to prove itself absolutely incorruptible.

Only then could it guarantee that scientists had learnt their lessons from the past and were intent on regaining the confidence they no longer universally commanded.

Even laboratory rabbits kept in ideal conditions may die. Some, says Professor Hellmut Ippen, a Göttingen don, end up in a casserole or pie as soon as the experiment has proved a success.

Anna von Münchhausen

(Die Zeit, 11 November 1983)



■ BEHAVIOUR

The man who discovered a secret in a flock of wild geese

"I've been inhumanly lucky most of my life: I've had animals as my friends."

The man who said this in a 1980 television interview must have had such famous friends in mind as the jackdaw Tschok and, of course, Martina, the gosling to whom he was a tender, loving mother.

Zoologist Konrad Lorenz, the founder of modern ethology (the study of animal and human behaviour by means of comparative zoological methods), has just turned 80. Most of these 80 years have been shared with animals.

Even his love for his wife Gretl goes back to a common animal acquaintance: a pair of ducklings given to the 6-year-old Konrad.

It was Gretl Lorenz who, as a gynaecologist, kept the family going financially over many years.

Lorenz himself had no regular income until he was almost 50 — except for a brief spell in 1940/41 when he was professor and head of the Department of General Psychology at the Albertus University in Königsberg, now Kaliningrad, in Russia.

This changed in 1950 when he joined the Max Planck Society, initially as head of a research centre in Bulder, Westphalia. Later, in 1955, he was made head of the Institute for Behavioural Physiology in Seewiesen, Bavaria, which was custom-made for him.

He remained at the institute until his retirement in 1973, the year in which he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine.

It was during his work with a flock of wild geese that Lorenz discovered the basic principle of modern ethology: the fact that behavioural patterns are as hereditary as physiological traits. They are equally subject to the principles of evolution rather than being acquired or learned.

The decisive aspect was Lorenz's application of this finding to humans. The consequences of this for our moral self-assessment are inestimable.

This was most convincingly documented — and most sharply criticised — in his famous book, *On Aggression* (English edition 1966) inwhich he decribes aggression in animal species and the significance of it for the understanding of human behaviour.

It was this that some people have interpreted as a moral free-for-all.

Lorenz has never wanted to have his aggression theory understood in this oversimplified manner. But the general public has never quite understood the scientific nuances in his study.

Some of the more demanding Lorenz books, among them the one describing his evolutionary findings (*Die Rückseite des Spiegels* or the mirror's reverse, 1973) were rather disappointing to a general readership used to more entertaining fare.

He is now back in the limelight as a spokesman for the ecology movement. But here, too, he has essentially withdrawn to questionable analogies between people and animals. As far back as 1940, Lorenz attempted to demonstrate with domestic animals that domestication, i.e. selective breeding, leads to degeneration of behavioural patterns typical for a species. The reason he gave was that domestic animals were no longer governed by the evolutionary principle of the survival of the fittest. His views led to a public dispute when he described human civilisation as "self-domestication."

In his book *Die acht Todsünden der zivilisierten Menschheit* (civilised humanity's eight deadly sins) published in 1973, he described the possibly suicidal consequences of technological civilisation. This was followed by a recent paper in which he spoke of a pathological decline of formerly [...] principles of the human comm[...]

Attitudes like orderliness [...] derived from growth and [...] were originally assets in prese[...] species, have now been turned [...] destructive opposite, says Lorenz.

The study contains some [...] and plausible observations on [...] our world.

Irene Me[...]

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 Nove[...])



Konrad Lorenz with a winged research colleague (Photo: [...])



[FL]ASHBACK

[R]eichskristallnacht, when the Nazi wreckers hit town

[Saa]rbrücker Zeitung

[The] countrywide excesses against the [Jew]ish community in Nazi Germany [in N]ovember 1938 have come to be [known] by the euphemism of the *Reichs[kristall]nacht*, or night of crystal.

[Hun]dreds of synagogues were gutted [that ev]ening. Thousands of Jewish shop [window]s were smashed and looted. [...] homes were vandalised.

[Hun]dreds of thousands of Jews were [...]sed, hunted and, in some cases, [...] A "campaign of vengeance" was [...]e on the Jewish community.

[...]ts only crime was to have been [...]d the No. 1 enemy of the Nazi [...] In 1938 there were still over [...]00 Jews living in Germany.

[Th]e pretext for this campaign was the [assass]ination of a German embassy offi[cial] in Paris, Ernst vom Rath, by a [...]-old German Polish Jew, Her[schel] Grünspan, on 7 November 1938.

[Grü]nspan's aim was to draw attention [to wh]at had happened to about 17,000 [...] Jews of German origin, including [his o]wn family.

[Sh]ortly beforehand they had been ex[pelle]d, forcibly and barbarously, across [the P]olish border.

[Af]ter conferring with Hitler, Propa[gan]da Minister Goebbels took the assas[sinat]ion as a pretext for an officially or[ganis]ed nationwide raid on Jewish pro[perty].

[...]ads of Nazis, mostly SA men, [...]ed through villages and towns [thro]ughout the country armed with [...]s and other weapons.

[The]y laid waste to Jewish property, [dev]astated and set fire to synagogues [and ro]ughed up Jewish citizens.

[...] saw the ruins of gutted synagogues [and] Jewish homes," wrote an eye-wit[ness] from Berlin, "and empty shops in [whic]h nothing was left but broken glass, [...]ed furniture and vandalised rem[nants] of stock.

[...] was told that pro-Nazi teachers [had t]aken their classes out to see how [the J]ew had been dealt their 'just [puni]shment.'"

[W]ith not so much as a word had [...] teachers seen fit to chide children [who] filled their pockets with sweets and [choc]olate stolen from Jewish shops."

[Th]e police, obeying orders, paid no [atten]tion to such excesses and the wave [of de]struction. Instead, they dealt with [...]al comments by members of the [publ]ic.

[Naz]i leaders claimed there had been a [spont]aneous expression of popular an[ger] but this was a propaganda claim [...] chose to believe.

[Th]ere cannot even be said to have [been] mass enthusiasm. Contemporary [repor]ts seem to indicate that most peo[ple] looked on impassively, shrugging [their] shoulders as it were.

[He]ydrich, the *Sicherheitsdienst* lea[der], took stock of what had been ac[com]plished on 11 November. He said [...] Jewish shops, 29 department stores [and] 171 homes had been gutted or laid [wast]e.

[S]eventy-six synagogues had been demolished and 191 gutted. Over 20,000 Jews were also taken into custody and sent to concentration camp.

We will never know for sure how many Jews were killed or driven to suicide. The Nazi Party's own court dealt with 91 deaths.

In nearly all cases the killers were let off on the ground that their orders had been open to misinterpretation.

The Jews had to meet the cost themselves. Insurance claims were dismissed by the state, which later even ordered them to pay RM1bn in "damages."

The pogrom was as devastating in the Saar as it was everywhere else in the Reich even though the number of Jewish residents had plummeted since 1933.

In 1933 there were 4,638 Jews in the Saar. By 1938/39 roughly 90 per cent had emigrated, mainly to France and Luxembourg.

Those that were left were publicly ill-treated, harassed, jeered and humiliated.

Many were taken into custody, especially the well-to-do, and their homes and businesses laid waste.

Nearly all the synagogues were gutted. They included Jewish churches in Saarbrücken, Dillingen, Merzig, Neunkirchen, Ottweiler, St Wendel, Illingen, Brotdorf and Saarwellingen.

Newspapers in the Saar had long been brought to heel by the Nazis. They had little or nothing to say about the raids on Jewish people and their property.

The arson that laid waste to the synagogues was the subject of snide comments by leader-writers, including a leading article in the *Saarbrücker Zeitung* 45 years ago.

The Star of David as it fell from the burning ruins of the Saarbrücken synagogue, the newspaper editorialised, symbolised the star of international Jewry, which was similarly on the decline.

The *Neue Abendzeitung*, a Saarbrücken evening paper, referred derisively to a long-awaited destructive fire.

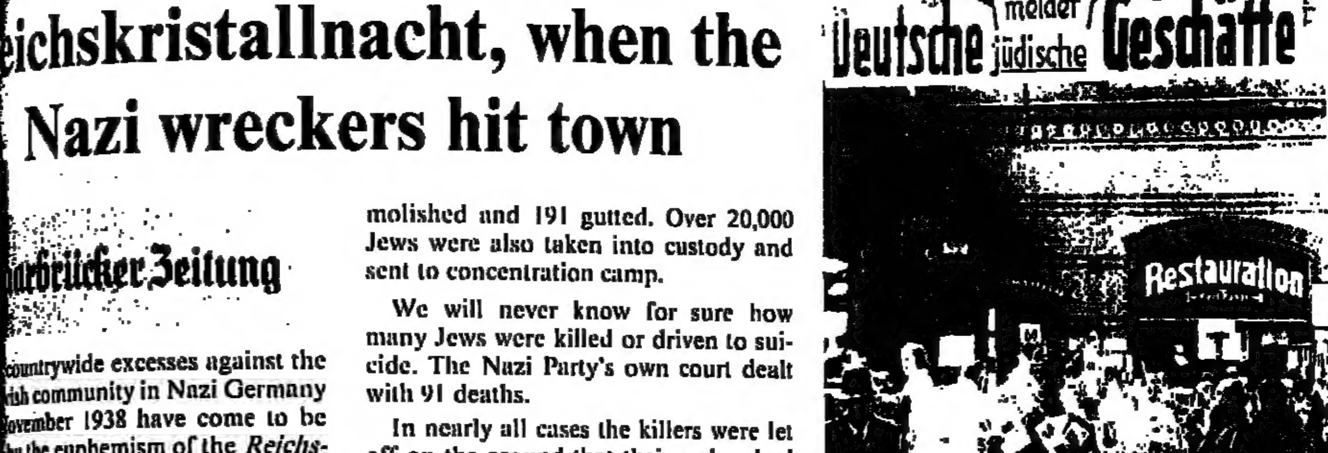
The *Saar- und Blieszeitung*, Neunkirchen, wrote in jubilant, primitive anti-Semitic terms of the Jewish temple, a disgrace to the town, having been burnt down.

In the wake of the *Reichskristallnacht* a plague of further official harassment came down on the remaining Jews in Germany, who were now well and truly beyond the pale.

Their freedom of movement and activity had long been restricted. These restrictions were intensified. A few years later the Nazi authorities opted for a "final solution" that sent millions of European Jews to the gas chamber.

Albert H. V. Kraus

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 10 November 1983)





Left: SA Brownshirts blocking access to a Jewish business in Berlin. Right, the synagogue in Berlin's Oranienburger Strasse after being set alight. (Photo: dpa)

The lessons of a Third Reich childhood

Frightening and typical are the attributes that best describe the poster advertising the Bonn exhibition on Childhood and Youth Under the Nazis.

It shows a kiddies' cart being pushed by a boy of four or five. His younger brother is sitting in the cart, which on its chair-back sports a resplendent swastika.

The motif was not specially thought up for the exhibition, which is on show at the city's central library until 21 December. It was taken from a contemporary newspaper photograph.

Nearly 300 items, many personal, were loaned by local people. They include badges, ID cards, books and diaries provided by about 30 Bonn people.

The exhibition makes no claim to be either scientific or complete. It is merely intended, 50 years after the Nazi takeover, to show young people in particular what life was like at the time.

Most of the people who had loaned personal documents attended the opening ceremony. So did representatives of the institutions who backed the idea of the exhibition, which was the city library's brainchild.

They included the Old Synagogue in Essen, which houses a permanent exhibition on resistance to and persecution in the Third Reich.

There was the Federal Political Education Centre, the Bonn Peace Education Centre, the municipal theatres, the city archives and the Rhenish State Hospital, Bonn.

There was also the Hamburg office of the President's award scheme for schoolchildren's essays on German history.

This year young people at a school in Bad Godesberg, Bonn's twin town, won first prize with a project on the Nazi era in Bonn. They and their teacher were there too.

The aims of the exhibition were outlined by the head of the city library, Dr Günter Röttcher, and the director of the Federal Political Education Centre, Horst Dahlhaus.

Each successive generation must ask itself and arrive at a personal answer on whether lessons can be learnt from history, Herr Dahlhaus said.

Today's 50-year-olds had learnt their lesson and realised that in their childhood and youth they had been misused by a dangerous regime.

But they had devoted so much time and effort to post-war reconstruction that they had forgotten to pass on to young people what they had experienced and felt they had learnt.

This failure was one they had only recently come to appreciate, but it was not too late to tell today's young people from personal experience what living history had been like at first hand.

It was an opportunity that ought not to be missed. The Bonn exhibition was one way of setting about it. The more people who saw it, the better.

Many exhibits testify to the profound effect Nazi ideas had on children and young people. Take, for instance, the sewing machine advertisement that proclaimed:

"German girls! If you want to become German women put German technology to good use!"

Or a poster advertising a competition for German youngsters on the topic: *Volksgemeinschaft — Blutgemeinschaft* (One Nation — One Blood).

Then there is a leaflet dating back to November 1938 proclaiming that Jews were banned from attending German schools.

An article in the *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, a regional Nazi newspaper, commented that it was about time the Hitler Youth took over the "Red" meeting house of the *Naturfreunde*.

A racial booklet for young Germans contained reading matter for the new German school. Another book for young people, adorned with rune emblems, asked:

"Is it a misfortune to have been born in an unruly, tempestuous age? Is it not a blessing?"

This propaganda bombardment could not fail to have an effect. A 16-year-old girl wrote in her diary on 20 April 1939:

"Today is the Führer's 50th birthday. Words cannot express the wonderful feeling of being a German."

A 13-year-old boy noted in his diary that he was terribly fond of the Führer.

Documents supplied by the Rhenish State Hospital are particularly saddening. They tell the tale of at least 50 children transferred from Bonn to Kalmenhof, near Idstein in the Taunus hills.

Kalmenhof was a special treatment centre for children. It put them to death. At least 44 of the children were killed there.

A meeting is shortly to be held as part of Children's Book Week in Bonn. People who were children 50 years ago will tell youngsters what it was like.

The aim is to back up the impression made by the exhibition of swastikas, diaries, photos, documents, letters from the front and reports of Hitler Youth gatherings.

Maybe personal recollections will help both young and old to think it over.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 10 November 1983)